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OUR NATIONAL PROBLEMS

AMERICANIZATION



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AMERICANIZATION

BY

ROYAL ^{cc}DIXON

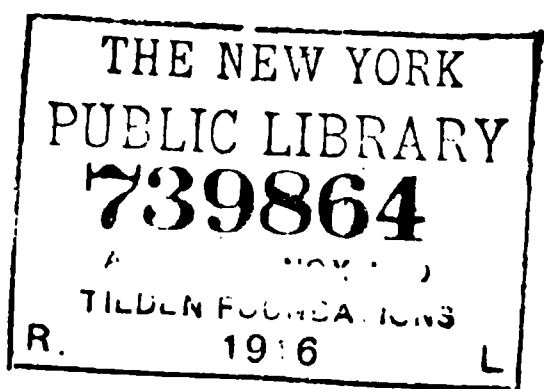
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE LEAGUE OF FOREIGN-BORN CITIZENS;
SPECIAL LECTURER FOR THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
OF NEW YORK CITY; FORMERLY MANAGING EDITOR
NOW AN EDITOR, OF "THE IMMIGRANTS IN
AMERICA REVIEW"; SPECIAL LEC-
TURER ON AMERICANIZATION

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TO
THOSE MEN AND WOMEN
AMERICAN BORN AND FOREIGN BORN
WHO ARE DEVOTING THEIR LIVES
TO LABOR IN THE FIELD OF
AMERICANIZATION

**“ All men love freedom. But the just demands
it for all, the unjust for himself alone.”**

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AMERICANIZATION

CHAPTER I

AMERICANIZATION

THE present age is in an attitude of surveying the future. The war now raging in Europe has awakened us to a great, impending cloud. The bubble of delusion has been pricked, and on all lips are anxious queries: "What have we to hope? What have we to fear? What will our children live to see? Surely America will not be plunged into war!"

We are forced to look to the future now, because we have indulged in a long period of indifference. Our early settlers, our pioneers, our men of that day which saw the building of the Union Pacific, and the solidarity of the nation after 1870, looked forward with pride, hope, and material certainty. But with

their passing, and the end of the era of astonishment and spread-eagleism, we immediately lapsed into fatuous self-satisfaction. Now we are beginning to wake up, look around, rub our eyes in wonderment, and question. America must regard the future, what it holds, and the best ways of preparing for it; the old methods of dealing with it are of no use, for the situation is too vast and threatening. And this time it is not pride but fear which forces her to take account of herself.

So far as any national consciousness has been found to exist, it has stirred from this stupor to fits of indignation only when groups of people calling themselves Americans committed outrages against life and property, or propagandists of the Prussian creed were found trying to beguile and persuade the rest of us into espousing the cause of tyranny and falsehood.

Such moments, however, passed without stirring to riot or revolt. For revolt or punishment were useless where a larger problem loomed, and a paralyzing fear pressed on the national heart. It can, indeed, be said that the unutterable infidelities of the hyphen-

ated-American have been revealed to us by a ruling power which may yet grant us peace and safety; for these men-without-a-flag, who have bitten venom into the hand that succored them, have given us invaluable knowledge, and the nation knows to-day what only a little group of people had begun to realize at the beginning of the present war; namely, that these are the United States as far as the map of the world goes, but that in no respect is this given area of the world's surface a nation by any of the spiritual definitions of that word. It has become, and in no figurative sense, a universal boarding house, a profitable place for transients, a refuge not beloved and not inspiring to the heart of the fugitive; but rather a convenience, a mart, a place to get rich in, a place to be criticized, sneered at, laughed at, and finally to be rid of when it has yielded enough and to spare.

The humiliation of this revelation has but one assuaging factor, but one good hope to build on. Diagnosis is half the cure, and what Socrates said of the individual applies equally well to the nation, — "Know thyself." In that lies the germ of our regeneration.

If we can come to know ourselves as a nation, or as something that would like to be called a nation, and to know that knowledge can be widespread, individual, and collective, we can Americanize America. But the process must spring from knowledge; and for what degree of knowledge the country has to-day let us be truly thankful. Our hyphenates have at least stirred the nation's consciousness to the point of making inquiry. And this is a good beginning.

America has been sinned against; but has she not also sinned? Are there reasons why the alien German, Italian, Frenchman, Hungarian, what not, should not conspicuously love her?

It is here, and in humility as before high heaven, that Americanization must be approached with clean hands and a pure heart. If the alien, the immigrant as a problem, is at the bottom of this national quandary, then both the country itself and the alien himself must be considered before Americanization can be made understandable.

When the average American speaks of "Americanizing the alien," what has he in mind? Is it that clothes and manners

shall conform, that voting for one of the two old parties prevail, that the races shall intermarry? Or is it that some ideal of life shall be realized whereby women shall have equality with men, the safeguarding of childhood and the respect for law shall be recognized to a degree higher than in other countries? And if these and other ideals were attained, irrespective of racial distinctions, would America then be "Americanized"?

Shall the "dago," when he rises in the economic scale, become an American or an Italian aristocrat? Shall the successful German organize societies for the preservation of his home country, and direct petty revolutions on its behalf, or shall he see to it that the best he has shall be given to America? Shall the Greek come as a bird of passage, caring for nothing but to earn money to spend in Greece? Shall he leave no impression on America? In times of disaster and need, shall the Jew support the Jew alone?

The very term, "Americanization," implies the idea of some process; and a process always presupposes some condition, some need, and possibly some lack. If a process is required to create a national idea, then it is evident that the ordinary

conceptions of patriotism must be lacking in the unrelated groups of peoples dwelling here.

Patriotism says that the idea of a man's country gives him a thrill; that he loves its soil, its sights, its sounds; it forever speaks to him, it beckons him back, it holds him; and he will, under the spell of patriotism, die for his country, knowing that his death is the most honorable of all human acts of nobility and sacrifice. Patriotism has a literature of its own; we need not go into it; but with the world-known qualities of it in mind we can solemnly ask ourselves this question; — why does America speak no message to the heart of the foreigner? Why does it fail to enlist his fidelity over and above his fidelity to another land? Why does he look to his own little group for all that makes his soul-life, treating the American scene around him with suspicion and contempt? Why are we left to doubt whether in necessity he would fight for us or not?

These are the fewest questions to which a large number of possible ones can be reduced. They cover, in their ramifications, the case of the alien against America. And in that case alone can we discover

what Americanization must aim to accomplish.

How deeply into our national life these queries probe is evident with the first attempt to answer them. If the immigrant to-day regards the Goddess of Liberty as a hypocrite, if her torch lightens his path as gladly back to the old country as it welcomed him here, it is because America with all its resourcefulness has failed in friendship and in brotherhood. He has found that race distinctions harder than the distinctions of aristocrat and plebeian in his old home exist here side by side and hand in hand with the greatest industrial tyranny in the world's history.

But this needs explanation; and the side of the "native born," too, enters into the discussion. Patiently, however, Americanization must concern itself with these primary difficulties. Can it utilize his racial characteristics? Can it call forth something from the Italian, the Frenchman, the Englishman, or the German which no other can give? Can it consecrate the latent qualities of each race to America's betterment? Such are the first broad questions which the subject entails.

If the present hour is one that forces

the reading of the future, it impels the American to cast about in preparation. And to prepare the heart and the soul of America for its destiny is the first, and possibly the last, necessity. Preparedness in arms goes without saying; that is why rifles and cannon must exist, that they may not have to be used; — exist they must. But at the root of all problems for us to-day, and inextricably bound with every phase of our international relations, resides one necessity: the alien hearts that are with us, but not of us; the brother who is but a stranger within our gates.

CHAPTER II

AMERICA THE OLDEST NATION

IT is easy, in considering the problems of America to-day, to follow the lead of destructive critics and, by reviewing the sins of the fathers, come to the conclusion that our country is in a hopeless condition from which nothing can save it but a great war, as between labor and capital, or as between the whole united front of the nation and some foreign power.

Americanization is opposed to this method and to this declaration. As will be shown in this book, it is exactly that single force which can alone obviate the necessity of internal revolution, and which alone, too, would give any assurance of unity in the event of a conflict with either of the great world powers.

Let us "clear the floor for the threshing" by sweeping out certain dusty errors which have been considered as truths and held up as standards of judgment by

those who declare that Americans must suffer in common the fiery trial of some vast disaster before they can be welded into one people. The word is on the mouths of many that we are a young nation, we have yet to find our sinews, we are a sort of juvenile experiment in the world's history.

Now this is the primal heresy, the misleading catchword which works two tremendous evils; the first of which is that it serves as an excuse for the sorely tried but sanguine native when he is put to it for a phrase. Here he finds an elusive hope, a relief from the possible burden of having to do something to solve the problem. It conveys the idea that because the nation is (as he thinks) a mere adolescent, and that many things will have to happen to it anyway before it grows up, the whole vexing problem about these aliens can well enough be left to that destiny which shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we may. This is the sweet-do-nothing school of thought peculiar to the largest and most pessimistic group of America's critics at home.

But Americanization as an idea, Americanization as a cult, as a powderless revolution (call it what you will) rules out

of court exactly this very notion. And before it can possibly be outlived in its many ramifications, Americanization must be understood as the one means which aims to attack the problem from its spiritual side, working out to unnumbered avenues of effort. And upon this premise it searches and it finds that the one thing which marks the nation, and must be borne in mind by all those who would labor for its fullness of life and spirit, is its tremendous age. America may be externally no older than the Declaration of 1776, but America is actually, and in the ageless, unbroken ascent of mankind, as old as the tyrannicides of Athens or the flight of Israel out of Egypt.

This is the rock-bottom conception, the idea projected and held without interruption which the true American of to-day must keep before his mental vision. It must enlarge itself to him until it dominates and reduces the terrors to their proper proportion. With this in mind the patriotism of an American can suffer many assaults and divers apparent refutations but still be unmoved. For it is the conception of the subject which places it beyond the petty limits of decades or dollars, and enables him to discover

the changeless and ageless will which founded and will continue to support America.

Nor is this realization — of the antiquity and ageless character of America — a mere outburst of oratorical language, a sort of refuge in the platitudes; it is simply the solemn and ennobling thought which immediately puts the American of to-day into correct relation not only with the America of yesterday, but with the ages.

The effect of entertaining this proposition is not alone to sweep out a common and purely material mistake, but to prepare the mind for ridding itself of another cobweb which obscures the naturally fervid and just emotions of many an American.

This second perversity of ideas — the one so widely held and glibly stated by those who would beg the whole question of the alien — is that having to do with some imagined laxity of immigration laws, some policy of a door that was too widely open, or ought never to have been opened save to the very worthy. These constitute the most egregious of the pessimists, for they bring to bear the argument that America was "too dearly

bought," that its blessings should above all have been assured to the "lineal descendants" of the pioneer. It is from this class of Americans — whose entire outlook on the subject is one of dollars and cents — that the very cosmopolitanism which we have so failed in employing is held up to be sneered at. From this type of thought results the famous sneer at the Goddess of Liberty as a statue "designed by a Dago, and presented to the United States by the French to enlighten the Irish immigrant on his way to Dutch New York."

But this light-hearted persiflage, and all such clever side-windings at America and her foreigners, whatever bitterness or unbrotherliness they cloak, are of negative value when we apply the idea of America's eternal reason for being. Then, and in that light only, we see that it is just as it should be, that the cosmopolitan quality runs through both the good and evil things, the worthy and the desperately bad in America as we view her to-day.

Americanization is an effort lighted by conviction, and working under the knowledge that, with all evidences to the contrary, there is present in some degree

within the soul of every human being in this country a patriotism which can at length be touched and wakened into activity. Such faith it is which Americanization acts upon, and which its labors have already justified.

That all of it is needed, and that thousands of Americans must earnestly enlist their strength in its operations, are matters which only the outlines of certain facts need be called upon to demonstrate. It will be seen from them that Americanization is a present, an existing thing, a transformation going on this day and hour in various quarters. It is the great preparedness which includes all other forms of preparation, and it is nothing less than education in a sphere above all limitations of creed or condition.

But it is essential that the foregoing as the philosophy of Americanization be borne in mind, for it is the simple, but inspiring belief with which the apostles of Americanization have blazed the trail for a unity among our many peoples.

CHAPTER III

WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW

IT is, then, upon the basis that things must be taken as they are, not as this or that set of theorists would have them, that Americanization sets forth a scheme for the real adoption of the alien. What the tides of immigration to this country have been, the political meaning attached to growth of different nationalities here has been; what enormous effects this and that group of foreigners have had upon our industries or our agriculture, — these and similar factors in the history of immigration are of nothing more than relative importance. For it is not the purpose of Americanization to appropriate the field of social economists in America nor to look for more than personal information in the vast storehouses of statistics. Investigation of the momentous questions of labor laws and relations, into the statistics



of illiteracy, birth rate, the fine distinctions between desirable and undesirable, and the distribution, state-by-state, of newcomers — these and all similar topics are part of the scholar's work, most necessary to be gone through and known by the propagandist and the teacher, but not essential to the practical patriot whose share in Americanization must needs be done with economy.

It is primarily essential for the inquiring American to know that the winning of America for Americans is a task devolving neither on the government nor the individual entirely. It is a process which, through organizations and conferences, clubs, groups, and the will of the individual, must first of all affect the attitude of the citizen towards his alien brother, and, secondly, aim by educational methods and direct appeal to legislative power to ameliorate by law whatever the laws alone can achieve.

Two thirds of the work of Americanization, however, lies outside the scope of legislation. The individual it is whose mental vision must be widened; therefore the educational aspect of Americanization is twofold. The instruction of the "lineal descendant" in the necessities

and the difficulties of Americanization is equally as important as the education of the foreigner in American ideals and the English language. All matters of religious creed must be swept aside in bringing ourselves to the task of Americanization, and in this connection it is well to know that the Jew, the Roman Catholic, and the Christian Scientist are to-day working side by side with persons of every shade of Protestant persuasion in finding and applying the "common ideals, beliefs, interests, and opportunities" which can unite these many peoples into one nation.

Out of the various elements which have so much to do with the mistaken attitude of the "old-stock" American toward the foreigner resident here, and most certainly the greatest factor in bringing about the foreigner's exploitation by the conscienceless padrones and drovers of labor, making possible also his debasement to the uses of political gangsters, is his ignorance of the English language.

It is in the Babel of tongues that the alien is debased and defrauded, and the employer mulcted, by the boss, the country rendered unintelligible to the alien,

and the alien kept out of all possible sympathy or inclination to the country. We have to-day mining towns where the Slavic dialects are the only languages heard; there are cities where every European language and many Asiatic tongues are the barriers against the first steps in Americanization. Moreover, only twelve per cent of the foreign-born whites, or scarcely more than a million and a half of the nearly fourteen million adult foreigners resident here, can read or write in any language.

For those who can read and write there are published in their native tongues daily and periodical journals, which constitute a very dubious aid to Americanism. Many erroneous ideas creep into the foreigner's ears relative to the meaning of Americanism. Some believe it means a thing fixed and stationary, a sacred Anglo-Saxon tradition handed down from Colonial times and incorporated in the Constitution, before which immigrants from other lands must efface all that they hold dear. At the other extreme are those who maintain that the American idea is growing and progressive, given new form and richness in each generation by the stream of fresh

blood and idealism which we welcome in our brotherhood from abroad. Neither of these positions is exactly correct, but both conceptions of Americanism are daily given to the foreigner in his foreign paper or periodical. And only when he understands the true meaning of the term will he accept as a "fundamental principle, that American institutions and ideals shall constitute the warp into which the many-hued threads of our national life shall be woven."

Upon this basic matter of the language Frances A. Kellor, in her pamphlet "A Domestic Immigration Policy," has set forth a very comprehensive and inclusive program. We shall quote from it direct, and also add thereto an account of what Detroit and Syracuse have actually done to bring home the idea of "English First."

"With as many different night schools for teaching English in various districts, and as many different systems as there are teachers; no system of compulsory attendance or truancy officers; miscellaneous lectures on citizenship — all coming at the end of the day, when men and women are fatigued, — these will by no means answer the need. It is con-

ceivable that employers may find the introduction of English classes during the working hours not impossible as a means of obtaining greater efficiency and decreasing the cost of industrial accidents. . . . It is quite possible that the State Departments of Education may take an interest in the working out of school methods and textbooks to suit the needs of aliens, and that State legislatures may see the necessity for an appropriation for schools in camps, and a fund to be applied to localities where numbers of alien families are suddenly placed at work temporarily on contracts. These emergency families not only test the resources of the local school, but impair its efficiency for American children in matters of grading, and so forth. Such a fund might well include transportation where it is necessary and take small children in such communities to school during the severe winter months. Increasing the library facilities for aliens, providing American history in the languages of immigrants — these are but illustrations of what must constitute a wise educational policy. . . .”

The incalculable effects of neglecting to force upon the immigrant his duty to

learn the English Language constitutes probably the heaviest burden which we of to-day inherit from the general stupidity and neglect which a previous generation accorded the newcomer.

Only of recent years have our libraries been truly public institutions, in the sense of catering to the foreigner by providing him translations of our histories, biographies, and other enlightening books on America, or in giving him assistance to learn the language by translations into English of works in his native tongue. The night schools in English for adults in the factory and mining centers, serve only a partial usefulness compared to such classes held during working hours. Those employers who allow aliens to attend such classes without loss of pay are far sighted and will reap the ultimate rewards that shrewdness and altruism always bring, — those employers who do not see its advantages should be forced to bend to the will of legislation in the matter.

We make no hesitation in saying that the polyglot confusion, the necessity of interpreters and go-betweens, whenever labor and capital are at each other's throats, constitutes one of the most

efficient aids to discord and continued misunderstanding. When business is invaded by emotion, as it always is in the clash of employer and employed, there is no place for divers tongues and languages. The greatest protection that the schemer and slanderer, the rioter, the blackmailer, and the usurer can have is the ignorance of his opponent.

As a direct outcome of the efforts put forth by the Committee for Immigrants in America, the city of Syracuse, New York, has within the last year come close to being an English-speaking city. It was, before the Chamber of Commerce took up the Americanization program, a city with alien residents numbering "some eight thousand unnaturalized adult males and some sixty-five non-English-speaking and fifty-two illiterate persons."

Its leading business men, its journalists, city officials, heads of the various charities and clubs, every one in fact to whom a community looks for intelligent response and activity in civic things, assisted by giving "English First" their support. The Syracuse Chamber of Commerce Bulletin informs us how thoroughly the work was gone about.

“A new method of reaching every non-English-speaking person in every section of the city was adopted. Forty thousand hand bills were printed in five languages — English, Polish, Italian, Yiddish, and German — which read: Make Syracuse an English-speaking City. Go to night school at once. Can you speak well? Do you want to be an American citizen? Do you want a better job? It is hard to get a job in America without English. Go to night school and learn it! Pick out the school nearest you in the list at the bottom of this page and go there at once.

“These were distributed in factories, plants, homes, churches, schools, libraries, and offices, on the streets and in meeting places. Pressure was brought to bear from every possible point of contact. The coöperation of every important industrial, commercial, religious, official, educational, patriotic, racial, charitable, social, and civic agency was enlisted. Personal appeals and arguments were made wherever possible, while racial societies were urged to pass resolutions urging their members to learn the English language and become naturalized citizens. The appeal was made even

through the children of foreign-born parents. 'Can your father and mother speak English well?' was a question asked in 10,000 neat folders distributed among the day school pupils and in the libraries. 'Take this card home; it will tell them where to go to learn English' was the admonition, and inside the folder the parents were told in five languages to 'Attend the free night schools. If you learn English you can more easily get a job and can get along better in America. Go to the school nearest you at once.' School principals impressed upon their pupils how important it was for parents to keep up with the same spirit of America with which the younger generation was being imbued. Hospitals, doctors, and immigrant bankers got in line. The foreign-language newspapers, published weekly in this city, carried news items and announcements of the location of the public night schools."

It is well to note one of the after results of the establishment of these classes in English.

"... Many most interesting by-products — traceable directly to the general interest in the campaign — have already

resulted. Each of the evening schools has organized special classes where preparation for citizenship will be taught, and arrangements have been made whereby all declarants and petitioners for citizenship will be referred to these classes by the naturalization clerks. The Young Women's Christian Association will develop and enlarge its domestic education work in homes of immigrants, to raise the general standard of living. One plant agreed to instruct its workmen in citizenship during working hours. A coöperative effort between the Police Court and the night schools has been proposed by which criminal tendencies, due to illiteracy, may be reduced."

It was thus that Syracuse put its whole civic energy, through the determination of its individuals, into the initial task of achieving Americanism for its aliens. And its case may be taken as typical of that of very many cities, which in the last decade have swung into the main current of industrial growth, with the attendant taking on of a numerous foreign-born class.

But a more striking example of Americanization, one that is certainly on a larger scale, is the process of conversion

under way in Detroit. This city, which has always been commercially important as a center of traffic by lake and rail, has seen its population increase eighty per cent in six years, its commercial prestige wax greater and greater, until it is known the world over as a center of the automobile industry. Labor poured into the city in streams, and the various nationalities in herding together made of Detroit "a half dozen cities, distinct in type within the city's boundaries." In this respect it was exactly like many another city in the industrial areas of the country. Every city in New England, for instance, where fabrics are woven, has its "little Italy" and "Russian Jew quarter," its Hungarian, its Greek, or its Armenian section.

The case of Detroit, however, because of the sudden springing up of all the difficulties presented by alienism, was an acute one, and has served as the best possible ground for the experiment in planting and nurturing nationalism.

It was brought home to Detroit that in turning out automobiles it was not turning out American citizens; that industrial war in its borders might cripple the making of automobiles; that in

treating its foreign-born laborers with indifference it was failing in its high duty, not any more in a moral sense than in one dictated by common sense. Detroit, in other words, saw in a few short weeks after the city's attention was gained through the agency of the press, the school, the church, that it might, if it chose, show the whole world a lively experiment in making citizens as well as machinery.

"English First," as the first step in every community, was rationally the most important here; for Detroit had forty thousand non-English-speaking persons. The Board of Education and the Board of Commerce worked hand in hand to put the night schools to their capacity test and get the foreigners, old and young, to attend. The response of the employers and those who may be called the captains of industry in Detroit was whole hearted in adopting every suggestion made to them for assisting the laborers to attend classes in English. Definite days and hours were selected when, from the superintendent to the foreman of the last department in each factory, the proper person was employed to gather workmen in groups and talk to them through interpreters about the night schools and

the advantages of learning English. The ultimate advantage of citizenship was revealed to them, but its initial step insisted upon. Every direction was made plain, and each man was told which school was nearest to his home. He was given printed matter (in his own language) about the material advantage which the knowledge of English would mean to him. Posters were displayed everywhere, in the factories, and in the streets, and were printed in many languages. We quote the wording of them.

"For Foreigners

EVENING ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Learn How to Become An American Citizen. Learn To Read And Write English And Do Arithmetic.

Enroll at the school nearest to your home.

Ask the boss."

"Can Your Mother And Father Speak English Well? Take This Card Home; It Will Tell Them Where To Go To Learn English."

This last notice was used by the Detroit Board of Commerce on the front

page of a library folder. And it seemed that every social organization in Detroit fell into line in helping to make the "English First" campaign a success. Through the employers, as we have seen, the connection between the "English First" and "Safety First" was appropriately emphasized along with the advantages accruing to the employed by way of promotion and social advancement in the country to which they had come.

The moving picture was utilized as a means of thrusting the lesson home. "The moving picture department of the Ford Motor Company made a moving picture of the line at the Employers Association Bureau showing the turning away of men that cannot speak English."

Women's Clubs, District Nursing Associations, the Y. M. C. A., Boy Scouts, the Salvation Army, the Board of Health, in fact every organized group in the city bent its energy to the work of *getting the foreigner to attend the night school.*

The one hundred and fifty per cent increase in the attendance at the night schools is obviously the first result to be noticed. But the attendant results are more important than the figures. *Detroit in less than a year* has demonstrated

that by this simple, initial act of recognizing the foreigner, meeting him, taking his case in hand and encouraging him to learn English, the situation between the native born and the alien is relieved by the following tendencies, which are best described as follows:

1. "An increased feeling of responsibility on the part of employers. This shows not only in the night school campaign, but in the establishment of new classes within separate industries.

2. "An increased interest on the part of the Board of Education in coöperating with employers and with other social agencies.

3. "An increased interest in parochial night schools throughout the parishes of the city. Especially a new interest in the teaching of citizenship in the parochial classes.

4. "The opening of more private classes for immigrants in settlements and social agencies.

5. "A greatly increased attention to methods of teaching English and Civics to foreigners.

6. "An increased understanding throughout Detroit of the social value of assimilating the foreign population.

7. "A gain in methods of coöperation on the part of various agencies and a realization that the assimilation of the immigrant is not a piece of 'welfare work,' but a fundamental civic necessity."

Most valuable of all has been the "reinforcement of industrial peace, a better understanding between employers and workmen, and, therefore, a better basis for industrial adjustments."

The above summary of the Detroit Experiment we quote from Frances A. Kellor's report. And we need only add that the wonder of it is that a step so simple as approaching the foreigner and teaching him English has not long before this been recognized and put in practice by law and by grace, since it is the logical and all-powerful key to the situation of converting the foreigner from an alien to an American.

Despite the fact, however, that laws have existed aiming at compulsory education in nearly every state, that illiteracy of children is guaranteed against wherever school laws are observed, the fact remains that the law is not the agent which educates the foreign-born adult or accomplishes much good for his child unless he is in one or two of the

selected centers of educational superiority. Apparently the one thing which does aim at the difficulty is the enlistment of popular comprehension, popular enthusiasm, and popular belief in the necessity of English First.

One of the most natural queries springing up in the mind from observing the Detroit and Syracuse experiments is that having to do with our public education, which seems for some reason to have neglected its opportunities or to have failed utterly in inculcating nationalism. Why, we ask ourselves, all this sudden straining of the sinews of educational agencies, this forced-draft working of the night schools to accomplish that which the schools are supposed to accomplish anyway?

The answer is plainly this: only within very recent years has the school equipment of the country been rendered available to adults in the way of night school sessions, and not until the country was awakened by the unutterable infidelities of certain "hyphenated" citizens was the full necessity of teaching Americanism clearly seen. The schools have taught, and taught well, the practical courses of instruction, material things which it has

been their province to teach. And patriotic exercises of one sort and another have had a regular place in the day schools for children. But the new, insistent need to get the English language into the minds of one and all, old and young, and the duty to help prepare every adult foreigner for naturalization, has but recently dawned upon us.

What is the barrier that keeps the foreigner from being naturalized at the earliest possible moment? And who are the men and women that exert sinister influences in this country by debasing the alien and keeping him in ignorance of the gladdening opportunities that await him here, if he will only be prepared to receive them? These problems must be the concern of our next chapter.

CHAPTER IV

PLACING THE BLAME

THERE is scarcely one of us to-day who is not in some degree responsible for the condition into which America has fallen, as the land so aptly described as that of the "unfulfilled promise."

Beginning years ago, possibly just after the Civil War and continuing to our present day, Americans have watched the increasing tide of immigration with distrust, dislike, and fear. And if we were to sum up the various expressions of feeling that characterized the bewildered and resentful attitude of mind which has held us enslaved in error, we should find such as these, —

"What do the immigrants expect, anyway? Isn't it enough to let them in? What more do they want?"

Two great errors are involved in these statements, entirely apart from the gross indifference which marks their speaker

as a thoughtless, selfish, and uncharitable soul. The first is that the immigrant does not and never has expected more than the right to labor, and the second is that Europe has somewhat improved as a place to live in during the last half century, and if it continues to improve, we may yet be wondering why America seems to have lost its appeal.

The worst, however, that can be said of the person who talks in the above manner is to the effect that he is very ignorant. For America has been doing a nefarious business; has been practicing every imaginable abuse of human rights and liberties, every affront to manhood and womanhood short of actual slavery with its chain and whip and auction block. It has stood silent, hardly daring to speak to its own plutocratic masters, while the deluded, overpowered, and sullen masses of the labor market are traded off in blocks like cattle, shipped, housed, and worked like peons, and vast undertakings are carried on over the broken bodies of men and women to whom liberty and America has been a lure and a cheat.

Thousands upon thousands of unrecorded agonies may be taken for granted for every recorded one existing from the

pen of those immigrants that have at last earned a hearing for themselves. Investigators, committees, experts in the service of the government have probed into the abuses of labor, and, slowly, grudgingly, legislatures have framed and passed laws aiming to do away with peonage, to regulate sanitation, to alleviate tenement-house conditions, to do this or that or the other, but always with this result: that these laws get themselves enforced at the peril of the immigrant for whom they have been enacted. For behind these few and generally feeble laws, laws open in every case to niceties of interpretation and dispute, there has not been the overwhelming power of popular faith and the urgent demand of the Americans themselves.

The padrone who owns a hundred Greek boot-blacks and intends to keep them ignorant of the English language, ignorant of everything American, the padrone who has shipped four hundred peasants from Italy with glowing promises for the future, and reshipped them in small groups out West, and who controls their wage, in fact their very lives, is just as immune to-day as he was before the laws were enacted to do away with

such slavery. He can escape by more than one avenue of legal flim-flam; but chiefly there lies open to him the broad avenue of American indifference.

Let us quote from a Russian arrival in this country who can relate from experience what this means:

"Let us visit a labor camp, where the padrone, an agent of capital, controls the alien workers. The padrone, by false promises, entices the immigrants from the large cities to the labor camps. When the aliens arrive, they are placed under actual conditions of peonage. They are housed by the padrone in an old shack with no light, no ventilation. Their food is stale and unwholesome. They dare not rebel, as armed guards and yelping bloodhounds keep watch. If they escape, they are caught and flogged. They cannot appeal to law, as the company owns the courts and controls the police, but even if the state does intervene, the aliens are shown to be in debt to the employers. Their outraged souls are stirred with the knowledge of wrong. They do not live in America, but under it, in the cellars, in the hovels, in the dark, in the damp, out of sight.

"Thus it is, in the mines, in the labor

camps, in the sweatshops, the immigrants are exploited, outraged. How appalling is this policy when nineteen out of every twenty workers in the mines and factories are foreign-born! You realize that it is the immigrants who bear the brunt of exploitation. You realize that it is the immigrants who are the victims of your industrial accidents and your industrial injustice. It is the immigrants who were massacred at Ludlow by the hired thugs of capital, whose lives were snuffed out in the Illinois mine disasters, who were burned in the Triangle factory fire. Thus do these heroes of peace sacrifice their very lives that your American may rank at the head of industrial nations. The immigrants by their faithful toil in the field of industry — in the mines, in the tunnel, in the shop — earn not your honor, but your indifference, your hatred, your exploitation!” — Lewis Rockow, in “The Immigrants in America Review.”

Such is not an extreme picture of the immigrant's woe. And it is only one. Space to accommodate the narratives that might be quoted would make this not a book, but a shelf full, — a library.

To a large degree, however, and

barring the national sin of easy-going indifference, the immigrant is chiefly a victim of *his own kind*. The manipulation of the labor supply by bosses and overlords, private bankers, unscrupulous steamship agents, men who call themselves "agitators" on the side of labor, and who are often wolves in sheep's clothing, who exact payments and bonuses, is the direct evil to which the ignorant and bewildered alien falls victim.

The courts, by their cumbersome workings, delays, and indirections, practically guarantee immunity to the landlord, the usurer, the contractor, the swindler, whichever he may be, who happens to be defendant or plaintiff, when the rights of an ignorant, tongue-tied foreigner are at question. It is here that the interpreter is the man who holds the balance of power. He may or may not interpret truthfully.

Yet this class of abuses which the courts in the great centers allow are as nothing to the vast crimes perpetrated in remote sections of the country whither labor is herded by padrones to do the construction work, the lumbering, farming, logging, railroading, which taken in their total constitute our vast material

increase. The national law of 1908 which sought to regulate these abuses has fallen practically to a dead letter. The Federal Canvass on Immigration finds only Oklahoma and Connecticut exempt from the systematic cruelties and malpractices of this new slavery.

The indifferent American does not dream of the foolish statutes on the books of many of our states, which aim to retain debatable privileges for the citizens alone. In Michigan, for instance, the alien cannot get a barber's license; only a native citizen can be a junk dealer in Virginia, and in many states immigrants are prohibited from working on public works. These and other comic-opera laws, together with the laws which hedge the process of naturalization, throw the foreigner back on his despoilers, — the labor agent in particular, — and encourage him to become a law breaker. When he reaches this stage, and he often attains it through sheer ignorance, he becomes prey to the professional bondsman, the politician, the "ward heeler," and the shyster lawyer. Courts more cumbersome, unintelligible, and affrighting than those in the monarchical home land confront him! Democracy reaches

its lowest level, its very denial, in the thousands of minor civil suits where the alien is alienated forever, and America is made a spectacle for the Gods.

Paradoxical as it may seem, it is not the judges on the bench to-day, nor the lawyers, pleading for or against the alien in court, who are responsible for our fantastic ways of doing the humble stranger justice. It is the whole left-over, outworn, accumulated rubbish of the past persistently held to and executed in the name of law and justice which brings such a state of things to pass. It is, for example, one of the moldy relics of a bygone era which allows, "any male person over twenty-one, not a tavern keeper, to be elected justice of the peace." To quote Frances A. Kellor on this distinctive absurdity in the judiciary system of New York state, "no knowledge of law is required, and in lieu of salary he is permitted to collect fees which are greater in case of conviction. The fee system also puts a premium upon delays. The rules of evidence are often not known or observed, corroboration is not always required in serious offences, and interpreters are not always provided."

Thousands upon thousands of for-

eigners have passed a portion of their lives in this land without coming into contact with our farcical judiciary, just as thousands of Americans have lived in ignorance of its ponderous and amusing machinery; and thousands of immigrants have lived as Americans have lived, in total ignorance of the why and wherefore of the lack of unity, the bitter social antagonism, and the mutual misunderstanding between descendants of the old and children of the new pioneer.

And it is the ignorance to which all blame attaches. Our schools, our colleges, and our seats of special training in the sciences and the arts, our churches even, are gravely at fault. We never thought of teaching Citizenship, Americanism, or any branch or form of patriotic understanding, until, apparently, it was too late. As to what the country was, and what its citizen has for his actual rights; what things were good, but might be bettered, and what were dead wrong; what was cast-off lumber and what was not; what was the duty of each one to his state, and to his United States, — when in the past, or where even to-day, were these things live matters

of knowledge and debate in the rank and file of American homes?

We cannot blame the courts nor the legislatures, nor the various executive arms of the law for failing to reform the past, or rendering inactive the laws of the present. We must remember that we have been a politically inert mass, movable at the will of the political machines; a docile, intelligent, but unenthusiastic, unspiritualized people. Business, not ideals, has been our concern. We have seen flickers of independence as against this "ring" or that from time to time, and have fatuously permitted that modicum of manly assertion to stand for a perpetual guarantee that we were "real, true Americans" after all. What in fact we have been is a sort of self-swindling, self-deluded people, paying for justice we did not get, asserting ourselves a Democracy when in truth the world never witnessed such a Plutocracy, and above all, before we began to look about and despise ourselves for the hypocrites we were, the rest of the world, or a goodly portion of it, had begun to mock at us.

It has been, in short, nothing but mockery that practically every nation of Eu-

rope has been holding on to the citizenship of its sons coming to our shores, maintaining here by every ingenious agency, one way and another of holding the heart and the allegiance of its child; coaxing and persuading him to use America only as a means to make money and come back; stirring him at his departure with zealous loyalty to his native soil, and keeping him stirred with that enthusiasm as long as it can keep track of his footsteps in the blessed land of freedom. Small wonder it is that the immigrant is a man of dual citizenship, actually so in many cases, potentially so in all cases. He must be confused with what he beholds here, and what he remembers of home, with all its drawbacks.

The indifference of the average American to his country, his blindness as to what is good or bad in the American scene, — these are the ultimate factors on which rest all the sins against the stranger and the necessities of reform under which we labor. It is an inspiring fact, however, that those who awakened to this state of things, the men and women who out of charity began the great works of Americanization which are to requicken Amer-

ica — were private citizens, prophets with faith and fire in their souls, who first in separate communities, then in groups, began the study of the immigration problem.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW CHARITY

NEVER in the world's history has a nation been called upon to spend what the United States has spent for public charity. If we allow ourselves to think of the ten million dollars and more that it costs New York City alone to feed and house its dependents, and add to that the tens of millions which go out from the exchequers of other states; the continual stream poured into the treasuries of a thousand charitable organizations and churches, and the gifts in tremendous sums from millionaires, our minds fail to comprehend the possible total of the expenditures which represent our domestic budget in saving life and alleviating misery.

But we can well pause to give it a moment's thought before entering the subject proper of the new soul-service which is to-day an outgrowth of social

service, a thing which is itself the offspring of charity.

Charity, as the noblest thing in the world, cannot be ennobled, nor bettered, nor even changed in its actual principle, and that is why we must retain the word. But its ways and its purposes may change and broaden. In this light we see that Americanization is an aspect of charity and comes closer perhaps to the meaning of that word as "love" than does the purely material giving, which not in all instances can be said to be a spiritual act. It may be objected that since our very existence depends upon implanting Americanism in every immigrant bosom, and requickenning Americanism in the native heart, that no means whereby it is accomplished can be called strictly generous or charitable. But there lies here an irrefutable factor. Charity if it means anything conveys the idea of brotherly love, and this noble passion alone has been the element in the past which has rendered possible the great undertaking of to-day.

Long before the legislatures of separate states or the Federal law makers were awakened to a sense of duty in doing anything for the protection of the immi-

grant, there were at work in this country men and women who devoted life and money to ameliorate unutterably bad conditions. Social service was unheard of; it was called "slumming," and it had, often enough, a connoted idea of patronage and condescension, and now we look back upon it as being ridiculous. But the passion for extending the "helping hand" is an inheritable thing. What was early charity is among the sons and daughters of that older generation an organized and resistless force which has added to the works of amelioration a new strength: that of analysis into causes, study, experiment, and professional acumen, until to-day it is safe to say that social science and social service — theory and practice — go closer in hand than it was ever thought they could.

The day-nursery, floating hospital, district nursing association, neighborhood settlement, and public playground, which to-day receives any part of its support from public funds, does so because of the social service worker or groups of workers who have rendered these things indispensable. Charities on the vast scale with which they exist in this country require a host of men and women for their

conduct; more and more they have exacted of our colleges and professional schools recruits into social service whose character and intelligence are of the highest.

Their work has its literature. Books, magazines, reports of meetings and conventions, — there is a whole department of special writing to-day which records, theorizes, suggests, and lifts to the level of a science and a religion the hundreds of social activities in thousands of American communities. Apart from the great sum expended from public funds and the contributions of millions of citizens to these things, there exist the Carnegie, the Russell Sage, and the Rockefeller Foundations, which foot the cost of far-reaching researches into the ailments and afflictions of society, taking it both as a body and a spirit. Yet, for all these things, and with every nerve strained to make life better worth living, the nation has experienced recurrent and increasing shocks of social unrest; signs of the most ominous sort have been too plain to be gainsaid, and doctrinaires, agitators, preachers, anarchists, socialists, cold-blooded theorists, and hot-blooded orators, have harangued in every tongue of

the imminent catastrophe, the threatened revolution that is to be. Many of them have openly denounced the whole world of social service, the whole scheme of things which under charity is a necessity.

What they fail to perceive is that under no imaginable condition will the social service worker be out of his job; — and what is discoverable if we look for it is, that in social service under a new interpretation, with a greater mission than it has ever engaged, lies the redemption of America.

The old adjuration was, "Let us treat this immigrant as a human being." The new interpretation, which at once lays bare the old fault and opens wide vistas to the future, is, "Let us treat this stranger as an American!"

We have learned that the gift of the spirit must be given at no matter what cost, and that all other gifts are as nothing to it.

Those to whom this vision of the subject was given were many. They constituted a growing nucleus of observers, scientific, patriotic thinkers, who may be thought of as the leading spirits, the prophets of to-day.

From more than one direction came the pressure which forced back our greedy plutocrat and swept all paid objectors aside to secure an interstate labor law. And in this great achievement, as in the innumerable acts of states and ordinances of cities which aim to render life endurable, these ardent spirits out of the ranks of social service have pointed the way. "Not by giving, but enacting justice" — not by anything but "the application of American principles to this abuse, can it be done away with," has been their watchword.

Under this new interpretation of being our brother's keeper, philanthropy is brought, as one might say, within the reach of every one. For it is, indeed, every man's chance, if he will grasp it, to serve his country definitely and fruitfully, if he does no more than urge on the work of Americanization. If he takes an active hand, as he can readily do, he is assisting not merely this or the other foreigner to a higher level of understanding, but he is strengthening the nation as well.

For it has been individuals, with vision and faith, who have brought the

issue before the country and have forced into being every law and ordinance that has so far affected the standard of living among our aliens, and it has been individual effort, now crystallized into certain energetic groups, which has within this last year found a practical working basis for the process of Americanization.

Most prominent among these is the National Americanization Committee, organized in 1915 in New York City, which within the single year of existence has enlisted the coöperation of practically the entire country by putting forth a scheme for Americanization such as will call to its fulfillment the strength of every organization, commercial, educational, religious, philanthropic, and artistic, that the nation possesses.

We will enter into the full purposes and work of the National Americanization Committee in the ensuing pages, taking up with it, too, briefly, the methods and successes of the Educational Alliance, the North American Civic League, the League of Foreign-born Citizens, the Y. M. C. A., and the striking efforts put forth by certain great corporations. It will be seen, however, that the inspiring results of these and all other societies

which are working for a unified America are doing so incidentally to their main educational work, — as an end result. The National Americanization Committee seeks to collate all facts and inspire all people to the task. How well it is accomplishing it may be judged from what we have already stated in the subject of "English First," as Detroit and Syracuse have exemplified. And how widely the country has been stirred to the subject of Americanization may be judged from the results of an "Americanization Day" campaign, begun late in the spring of 1915, in contemplation of July Fourth as a most fitting day to be made into celebration and inspiration for all dwellers in the land, purposely celebrated to unite citizens of all nationalities in a common feeling.

Through Frances A. Kellor and her staff of advisers and editors, patriotic Americans throughout this land were urged to come forward with suggestions for a suitable program. Essays for a prize, to be awarded by the Committee, were submitted by hundreds of men and women, whose ardent response to the subject of "How to Americanize the Immigrant," was visible proof that Amer-

icans were not apathetic to the great problem confronting our country.

We shall have occasion to quote from certain of these papers, and to outline Miss Kellor's entire program for Americanization; to consider it, too, in comparison with other methods; but there seems no place more timely for the Americanization Day suggestions than at present, for it is exactly here that the sentiment, the soul of the whole matter, is touched upon.

Americanization Day as it was celebrated in over a hundred and fifty cities of the United States last year is the most significant of the outstanding events which mark Americanization as a progressing, fruitful, and highly patriotic movement, and one in which all races and nationalities seemed equally enthusiastic.

The official aspect of Americanization Day was in nearly all cases that of a reception, an open house, where a welcoming hand was extended to the foreigner by the government of the city, and in the name of the United States. The unofficial aspect was in the parades, the banquets, the concerts, the plays and pantomimes, throughout all of which the

unity of all peoples in America through a common aspiration was emphasized. Independence Day, July 4th, was almost universally selected by cities, North, South, and West, for this celebration. From end to end of the country the response to the idea was tremendous. Months before the day itself the National Americanization Committee got in communication with hundreds of organizations in the various cities. Preparations for the event went forward with all the zeal and invention that such organizations as Chambers of Commerce, Young Men's Christian associations, Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, fraternal orders and church societies could bring to bear.

In practically every city the special committee to act as an executive body was appointed by the Mayor, and a sub-committee to have charge of special features, scenic floats, mass meeting receptions, music, were constituted by this committee in such a way as to employ every individual in the capacity for which he was best suited.

The schools and the churches were the particular medium for getting the message of Americanization to the house-

hold of the immigrant, and the enthusiastic work of both Protestant and Catholic clergymen, who emphasized the idea from their pulpits and urged their people to participate in the event, was of great assistance.

From Frances A. Kellor's report of the first Americanization Day we quote the proclamation issued by Mayor Behrman of New Orleans :

"Whereas, Never before in the history of the world has it meant more to be an American citizen than it means to-day; and,

"Whereas, The movement started in New York City to celebrate Independence Day this year as a National Americanization Day has spread throughout the country, and appropriate ceremonies in almost every city of the Union will be held on July 3rd, 4th and 5th; and it being meet and proper that New Orleans, in many respects, notwithstanding her cosmopolitan population, the most American city of the United States, should join in the movement; and the 4th of July falling on a Sunday this year making, under the laws of Louisiana, the next day, the 5th, a legal holiday throughout the State; therefore,

"I, Martin Behrman, Mayor of New Orleans, do hereby request all the people of this city, including especially foreign-born American citizens, to join in a great mass-meeting to be held in Lafayette Square on Monday, July 5th, 1915, at two o'clock P.M., when, with patriotic music and loyal patriotism, all will join in celebrating the 130th anniversary of the beginning of the United States as a nation, to the end that from now on, and forever hereafter, we shall all be Americans in fact and in name, and realize more fully and clearly the privileges and duties of American citizenship. A special Committee of twenty-nine has been appointed to arrange for the celebration, particulars of which will be given to the public from time to time through the press.

"I also call upon our people generally to decorate their homes, stores and offices on July 3rd, 4th, and 5th, and that wherever possible the American flag be displayed and worn on these days as a badge of honor and distinction.

"Given under my hand and seal of office at New Orleans on this the —— day of June, 1915."

One of the most trenchant appeals to

the people of an entire state was that issued by the governor of Minnesota, which in part read as follows:

"As Independence Day approaches, the people of the United States realize more and more that never before has it meant so much to be citizens of the nation whose birth we soon will celebrate. It is especially desirable that those who have been recently naturalized be fully impressed with the value of their new citizenship. Those who have come from other lands and now are citizens of the United States owe their first allegiance to this country and those who were once residents of the nations now at war should understand that they are citizens of a neutral country and should aid in maintaining its neutrality.

"It is therefore urged that Independence Day, this year, be observed as 'National Americanization Day'; that in the celebrations in our cities and villages special honor be shown our recently naturalized citizens. On our national anniversary all citizens, whether foreign born or native, meet together as members of a united nation. It is suggested that mayors or other chief officials of our municipalities appoint representative com-

mittees to carry out the local Americanization Day programs. If committees already exist, it is recommended that they make citizenship receptions a feature of their programs."

The governor of Kansas issued the following proclamation :

"For the conservation of life, limb, and property, and for the promotion of a higher conception and a higher appreciation of the meaning and distinction of American citizenship, I suggest that the mayors of the towns and cities of Kansas proclaim an all-American and a Safety First celebration of Independence Day on Monday, July 5th, this year.

"We are a state and nation created, builded and cemented by the best blood and brain of the world's greatest peoples. Let us make this national anniversary particularly and appropriately significant of that fact by declaring it an ALL-Americans' holiday, by emphasizing in public exercises our national unity and feeling, our pride in American citizenship, our faith in and devotion to American ideals of freedom, justice, humanity and good will; by showing good will and respect to all peoples and all nations."

Thousands of questions were answered

by the Americanization Day Committee in reply to queries from local committees throughout the country; data prepared for speakers were sent even with briefs and prepared speeches. To certain of the great centers of immigrant groups, such as Pittsburgh, Boston, St. Louis, Galveston, representatives were sent who outlined the methods and took charge of the local preparations. One of the most important parts of the gigantic task was that of preparation of data for the speakers. Relative to this point we quote direct from Miss Kellor.

“The data furnished enabled speakers to translate to the audience something of the meaning of the country to both Americans and immigrants, and consisted of the following divisions: Why we have Americanization Day; Why we have it on Independence Day; What is American Citizenship; What the Americanization of the foreign born means to America; What it means to the foreign born and what are the best ways to bring it about. The facts presented in a ‘brief for speakers’ enabled many of them to state conditions unknown to most of their hearers. Most of the celebrations included speakers for Americans

and foreign-born representatives of the different nationalities. In addition, the Committee was kept busy outlining programs, selecting music, suggesting features for pageants and otherwise helping local committees."

Practically the entire Press of the country coöperated with publicity, and thousands of clippings show the widespread educational work accomplished. The Committee found every sort of organization ready and willing to take up the idea. What had been needed was now supplied, namely — a central Committee to superintend, or crystallize into results, the enthusiastic but unformed ideas of a thousand separated and dissimilar communities.

"The success of the Americanization Day movement is due not so much to the creation of a new Committee, but rather to the wisdom of that Committee in acting as a clearing house for existing organizations that were ready for such work, but lacked the central idea and organizing power. Those who coöperated included city officials, Chambers of Commerce, industrial corporations, churches, schools, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Chris-

tian Association, Daughters of the American Revolution, Young Men's Hebrew Association. Many of the churches had Americanization sermons on July 4th, and in some instances where the city did not officially hold receptions the churches took charge of the arrangements. Americanization Day offers one of the finest illustrations of the coöperative patriotism of widely varying organizations throughout the country." — From Frances A. Kellor's report, in "The Immigrants in America Review."

It may be readily objected that any celebration of whatever sort is after all only a celebration; that enthusiasm rises to a given point by being stimulated to it, and may abate and be far from permanently effective. This is true, but even so, Americanization Day aimed at one simple thing only: that of arousing just such an interest, whether or not anything were to be counted upon for striking and immediate after effects. If the American, native or foreign born, could be reached by this appeal the results could be left to time and the sure work of the zealous few. It was exactly in the spirit of looking to solid results that one of the ardent and helpful men of the West,

the Mayor of St. Paul, wrote to each new citizen who participated in the celebration, —

“As you were among those new citizens for whom a special observance was held on July 5th, in this city, I am taking the liberty of writing you to express the appreciation of the city officially, as well as my own personal appreciation of the splendid spirit shown by our new citizens who joined in that celebration. I trust that now the celebration is over you will not feel that there is an ending to your importance in the community. Indeed, from now on you will be more and more needed as an element of our citizenship, and I express the hope that you may be so conscious of your citizenship that you will realize your responsibility toward the city, and feel eager to lend your interest and your energy so far as possible to create a more united sentiment between all our people, whether born here or born abroad. The nation and the state and the city depend for success and achievement upon all the citizens feeling a sense of partnership. We are all members of one large, happy family, and we must work together to keep our community clean, wholesome, helpful and just. If you are ever inter-

ested in any particular civic activity I trust you will feel free to express your interest and your desire, — free to consult with the city officials, to appear before the city council with your complaints and your suggestions. I hope you will feel that from now on you count as much as any other citizen in every public interest, and that you will take such pride in your partnership with all other citizens that you will join in all public activities gladly and without any sense of fear or hesitation. You can contribute much also by urging upon your fellows who have not been naturalized the necessity of entering into full citizenship. You can help by spreading the sentiment of kindness and brotherhood and by trying to impress upon others the truth that American ideals, although we may fall short of their perfection, do represent the highest spirit of cöoperation between all classes of people. When the next Americanization Day celebration is held you can help make it more successful than the last one, and I am sure you will lend all your efforts in this direction. I am confident that every man who participated in this year's celebration will feel a sense of responsibility as a citizen in everything that af-

fects our city, our state and our great country. May we all, whether native born or foreign born, strive to coöperate for the common good, and by patience and patriotic faith help to make this a country of justice and humanity, in the broadest and most permanent sense."

This letter expresses exactly the spirit of the whole occasion, and exactly what it should be in its repetitions. Hundreds of thousands of people were reached; and if the first and obviously expected results were those involving the sentiments, the hearts of people, so much the better. The practical effects were quickly to be noted. Let us cite the action taken in Providence, one of the cities in immigrant New England where the problems, all of them, that the polyglot groups of foreigners create are to be observed in the most acute forms. Americanization talks, with the use of motion pictures, were carried on in four centers of the city in connection with outdoor schools throughout July and August, and the Y. M. C. A. through its industrial department organized classes for instructing teachers to carry on the English First and Naturalization classes throughout the state. More than a hundred com-

munities where Americanization Day was observed have reported such tangible results; but of far-reaching consequence is the plan which is now under way to connect the educational institutions of the country with the courts of naturalization. This is a direct result of Americanization Day; for it has come about by the activity of persons whom that event awakened to the necessity of some such arrangement.

Certainly it seems needless, almost trivial, to touch upon the value of Americanization Day as a new and wholesome way of rendering the Fourth of July doubly significant, of relieving it, too, of those elements which have made the desire for a "Safe and Sane" and a powderless jubilee. Such is but a side issue; yet the Americanization program accomplished exactly that result where it was observed; and in doing so, it served only the least of its benefits.

What the celebration in the first year conferred most clearly was the stirring of the sluggish pulse of the native American. Patriotism was put before him with its new message, its new call to work for winning the country again; to win it by every force of education and social

alertness was the desire. He was stirred to this, because a hundred unknown facts were brought before him; and he saw that over against the ideal for which America stands are arrayed certain definite, terrible, but curable things, making the America which must be brought to rights.

We will continue to the definite problem, so inevitably bound with the task of making Americans. Naturalization is apparently a most unnatural thing, to judge by the difficulties of attaining it. The English First campaign, directly an issue out of the Americanization Day, and the prime, necessary step in all Americanization programs, is the initial point of departure in getting the alien made over into an American citizen. Let us see what this means, both as a difficult thing for him to attain and as a formal act which should mean everything, even the whole future of our country, both to the new citizen and the descendant of the colonial Americans.

CHAPTER VI

CITIZENSHIP

THE formal act of registering citizenship in the United States should be only the outward sign of an inward and patriotic grace. But if we consider the methods of naturalization as they are, and weigh the numerous difficulties which impede, discourage, and alienate the alien, we can perceive very readily that naturalization is something far short of what it ought to be.

The presence of the hyphenated American, the ambiguity of dual citizenship as we have witnessed its workings in this year past, are things not so much to be wondered at when we think how miserably the privilege of citizenship has been abused as a political game and how it has been hedged about with innumerable difficulties.

The country was rudely awakened to unpleasant signs of the times, and both

because of attacks upon us by those who had come to live here and because the Americanization Day Committee had stirred the wits and patriotism of a good many people, and the genuinely American part of the press had hammered away on the subject, certain reforms were promised by the Bureau of Naturalization last August. We will enter into the nature of these very optimistic changes. But let us first consider what the present is both with the nation and the alien, which makes it quite as likely that he will not become a citizen as it is to be hoped that he will.

There is, in the first place, no desire on the part of Americans to receive him. In the consciousness of the usual, everyday citizen the subject of whether "these foreigners" are going to be citizens like himself or not arouses no emotion, and he goes on the general supposition that somewhere in one or the other of the courthouses, or maybe at the police station, there is an official and some clerks, a Bible to take an oath on, and thither the alien may betake himself, if he so desires.

This is typical of the muddle-headed condition of most of us on a subject

which in reality concerns us too vitally to be left in the dark. We should be able to walk up to the young Greek or Italian who runs the peanut stand and ask him if he is an American yet; if not, when does he expect to file his intentions of becoming one; and we should be prepared to assist him personally to fulfill the necessary requirements, and we might very well shake hands with him and be just a little bit cordial to him the day that he comes through the process and gets his papers. We might as well do these things as to leave them to be done by the political ringer-in, the ward-healer, the labor boss, and the professional vote-buyer who can, and do prostitute the laws of citizenship and make the act of naturalization a part of dishonor and crime.

The regulations governing the acquirement of citizenship are, however, too simple to suit the taste of certain Americans and too elaborate to meet the approval of others. Among those who do know, and would assist a foreigner to understand their *modus operandi*, are two classes: people who would render the conditions more laborious in an effort to raise the standard of citizenship,

and people who believe that the law as it stands is too onerous.

Precisely here lies the difference between the American who would first restrict immigration and the American who would deal with immigration as it is, and lend his labors to the task of assimilation. For the latter type of citizen perceives that it is by rendering citizenship a thing more easily attained that the foreigner is to be encouraged; that the difficulties lie not so much in standards that are now too high, but in the hardships imposed upon the immigrant who would reach those standards. It is the cutting of red tape that the reformer is after, rather than the lowering of any ideals. The immigration-restriction type of citizen is openly for discouraging the immigrant's entrance to the country and for asking a very great deal of him before acknowledging his fitness to be an American citizen.

Briefly, as the law of 1906 stands, it costs the immigrant five dollars in fees and five years and ninety days in time to become a citizen. He must appear in court four times, twice in filing his papers of intention, and twice in getting the final documents. He must have two

witnesses and these must be the same persons each time. (There are clauses and enactments providing against unavoidable contingencies in this part of the requirement.) He must speak the English language. A woman becomes an American by marrying a naturalized alien or a native American. And if she is already a citizen and marries an alien, she at once loses her citizenship. The provision of the Federal Act of March 2, 1907, says: "Any American woman who marries a foreigner shall take the nationality of her husband."

"The marriage of an American woman with a foreigner has consequences of like kind, may involve national complications of like kind, as her physical expatriation may involve. Therefore, as long as the relation lasts it is made tantamount to expatriation.

"This is no arbitrary exercise of Government. It is one which, regarding the international aspects, judicial opinion, it has been taken for granted, would not only be valid but demanded. It is the conception of the legislation under review that such an act may bring the Government into embarrassment and, it may be, into controversies. It is a

voluntary and distinctive expatriation and its consequences must be considered as elected."

These are simple enough in their outline. But in their working, as laws framed with no idea of fostering the immigrant, they constitute a slipshod system directly inimical to the interests of the country.

In the first place, the immigrant workman is nearly always for the first years of his life here an itinerant. And if he files one set of papers in one community, there and there only can he receive the second papers. The transfer of these papers from court to court, the renewal of last papers, the cost of transporting the original witnesses, these combine into an obstacle that is a dead wall. Thousands of applicants who file papers of intention never appear for the final ones; and only in the fewest cases, perhaps in none whatever, is the cost to the immigrant anything like the stipulated price. Likely as not he must travel a considerable distance to the court. He must lose a day's work anyway; and he may lose his job; he must bear the cost of fares for his witnesses. He may even have to reimburse them for their lost

time at work. And when he arrives at court, his name may not be called; the docket may schedule him for the next day or the next week. It is "up to him, not up to Uncle Sam," as an apologetic alien remarked. "And I had already lost twelve dollars in working time; paid a dollar forty each for the two witnesses, and the same for my own carfare. I gave it up, and I'm not going to be bothered with trying again."

The foregoing is a typical instance that must be multiplied by thousands to gain some idea of the way in which the working of the present law defeats its own end. So inflexible is the machinery of the court that naturalization seems a misnomer for the law which it ostensibly serves. "The prevention of naturalization" is entirely a better title for the existing system.

For the benefit of the calculating and unscrupulous politician the naturalization law is nothing less than a public benefit. It enables him through fictitious "clubs" and "benefit associations" to rush through the formal preliminaries of herds of prospective voters, assisting them to citizenship for his own unscrupulous purposes, debasing thereby the character of the

alien who aids him in politically dishonoring the ideal of Americanism.

States have laws of their own which give the franchise to aliens who have only declared their intention of becoming citizens. "In one of these states where as soon as an alien has filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen he is given full electoral privileges, the number filing their declarations in a presidential election year was 660 from July to October; the number from October to December was 6697; and from the following January to July there were only 71."

The eagerness with which the alien is sought and assisted by the ward-heeler, and converted to citizenship as the politician needs him, is only a slightly more ridiculous spectacle than that presented by the various state laws discriminating against the foreigner, keeping him from labor and public works, and refusing him licenses for various occupations. "On one public contract, when the alien labor law was being tested in the courts, first papers were supplied to each laborer who renounced his allegiance to his own country and pledged his faith to a new one for a sole consideration of \$1.75 a day."

These and other vicious aspects of naturalization contribute a good share to the feeling of indifference or of out-and-out contempt for the country which thousands and thousands of aliens feel. Some are secret about it and live here silently, sending money to the old country, and retaining their allegiance to it. Others, many of them intelligent readers of the papers printed in their own language, attendants upon socialistic meetings, friends and hangers-on of agitators, openly deride the "native" American who thinks so little of his own citizenship as to let it become the debased, commercialized ally of the low politician, the while he pretends to safeguard it with the full panoply of laws and courts and oaths.

Aliens are encouraged to retain allegiance to their native soil. Every sort of friendly and assisting organization is fostered by the secret and the open agents of European governments to induce the emigrated son to keep his status here that of the sojourner. This has been the policy of Germany for a long period, and as a part of the Imperial Policy no emigrant from the Empire was too humble not to be "followed up" and

kept by one benefit and another as the Kaiser's faithful subject. That he was retained without his knowing it, and the whole process was one of such perfect ingenuity that its machinery could scarcely be discovered, only argues for the incomparable astuteness and talent of the German leaders and their agents. While we have been indifferent and muddle-headed, they have been alert, ingenious, and wakefully acute.

It goes without saying that the simple act of naturalization does not and cannot mean Americanization in the complete sense. It may, in a few cases, be ideal as the consummation of the individual hope, ambition, and striving. It doubtless is entered into with solemn and inward grace, and due knowledge of its abstract grandeur on the part of a few. But the law and all the Bureaus and Commissions ever appointed can never accomplish for America — in this matter of naturalization — what the spirit of the nation working through every grade of society must undertake to perfect.

If reforms in the *modus operandi* of the law come about, they will result in this case, as in every other, through demands by the intelligent majority. And

those demands will come from the awakening of Americans to the fact that the unity of the nation must be served by every discernible means.

We need not concern ourselves with the legal side of the problem further than to remark that the courts might well go halfway to meet the alien. A judge takes his court with him wherever he goes. We can paint to ourselves a lively change in the present system whereby in a new order of things the alien will not have to travel to the court but the court will travel to him, or its deputies will make the circuit. We can also postulate a law that will make it a penal offense for the employer to stand between the enrollment of the citizen and his day's wage. And we can fancy a new day when an alert secret service will land the ward-heeler and vote-getter in the penitentiary for abusing the privilege of American citizenship.

It can be predicted with a degree of certainty, however, that in more than one American city the acquirement of papers of citizenship will be invested with a new dignity, that a ceremony will attach itself to the act, and that a sane flavor of humanity, hospitality, brother-

hood will pertain to the immigrants' hour of adoption. And in many a community the immigrant will be well prepared; he will read and write the language. He will have some knowledge of what the Constitution means; he will be aware of what is meant by swearing to uphold the principles of democracy. For there are many forces at work; efforts are going forth to make naturalization not merely more attainable, but a duly significant thing both for the immigrant and the native born whose brother patriot he becomes.

How keenly the work of the Committee for Immigrants in America has struck home, particularly in the great centers of immigration, may be judged by the fact, that in this matter of educating the foreigner for naturalization, and assisting him to it, men and women in organizations of every description, social and religious, are seeking to apply themselves to some practical phase of the work. There exists a society devoted to this end, — The League of Foreign-born Citizens, — whose program of extension to every center of alien population we will give in full. But we must not fail at the outset to emphasize the non-sec-

tarian character of the main work as a whole. Notable in the forefront of Americanization are the Knights of Columbus, and most ardent in assisting the educational campaign of that society are well-known prelates of the Roman Catholic Church; equally the great energies of the Presbyterian and other Protestant churches are occupied in maintaining schools and classes for adults as well as children, — to teach the language and the history of America as well as to give every help toward raising the standards of living.

What the League of Foreign-born Citizens has accomplished in assisting the foreigner to become an American may be considered final evidence of the need for such work, and also proof that it can be carried to a successful issue. The night schools can never serve completely the needs of the working man. Classes in English, in United States History, Civics, however elementary, must be available at all times; the adult immigrant is just as much in need of help as is his child. Through an indefatigable zeal to make naturalization mean a great deal more than a formal signing of papers, and a determination to make

Americanism a living thing for the citizen-to-be, the League, since its foundation in 1913, has not only effected the naturalization of hundreds of aliens, but it has accomplished this in a way which assures the quality value as well as the numerical value of such citizenship. The League has its Bureau of Naturalization, and depends entirely on volunteers from its membership for its corps of teachers. With its headquarters in the center of New York's most crowded section, it extends its work into classrooms maintained in that and several other quarters of the city. The president, Mr. Nathaniel Phillips, in speaking of its naturalization, said.:

"Applicants for citizenship are informed concerning questions of eligibility and of the number and character of necessary witnesses. Under the direction of this Bureau there are conducted nightly free naturalization classes. The naturalization work is divided into three grades:

"Grade A: Applicants are assisted in the preparation of their citizenship papers. They are taught to read and write English. By arrangement with the County Clerk's office, their blanks are stamped with the signature of the League, and the

naturalization clerks readily issue the official first papers to applicants presenting the stamped blanks. Applicants have, by this means, saved from three hours to as many days when they come to the County Clerk's office with their blanks fully prepared for them at the League.

"Grade B: Applicants for second papers are aided in the preparation of the blanks for their second papers and are assisted in obtaining their Certificate of Arrival.

"Grade C: Classes in the history and principles of our government. Applicants are instructed in the meaning of our Constitution and are taught to answer questions necessary for proof of a proper appreciation of American institutions.

"We found an appalling inertness on the part of a vast number of immigrants toward taking the steps necessary for becoming citizens. The reasons were of course largely the inaccessibility of the naturalization courthouses and the time consumed in the making out of the preliminary blanks at the Court. But more than these actual obstacles was the vague belief that the process itself was so difficult to understand and to overcome.

“Through the efforts of the League, arrangements have been made with the County Clerk and with the United States District Court whereby the State and the Federal Courts will be open three evenings each week for the issuance of first papers to applicants. This will, of course, mean a tremendous saving in time to the applicants.

“We hope to bring about in New York City a method which is proving successful in Los Angeles, Cal., whereby great saving in time for prospective citizens and for the Courts can be accomplished. We are planning the following: The members of our Naturalization Classes are to receive a diploma from the League at the close of their course of instruction. This diploma will be accepted by the Courts as evidence of satisfactory knowledge of the Constitution and of the history of our government, and will be accepted by the Judge in lieu of the examination to which applicants are now subjected.

“The people are getting to know of the existence of the League, and that it welcomes prospective citizens; that we solve doubtful problems with regard to eligibility; that we save them time and needless worry. In short, the very existence

of the kind of organization we are striving to be has aroused citizenship activity amongst the people. Our records contain the names of a number of applicants who have come to the League, who have been in this country fifteen years, and some of them as long as twenty years, without ever having taken steps toward naturalization. They are now on their way toward citizenship."

The essential to be noticed in the foregoing is the coöperation between the League and the courts. Here is exactly where the Federal Laws and the State Laws, no matter what changes they stand in need of, are receiving the right kind of help. The law must in any case be respected; and we may add that no enactments, Federal or State, can ever be framed that will Americanize anybody. That is work which widespread education, nation-wide efforts on the part of loyal American citizens, alone can achieve.

Private organizations working for the public good, getting results of their own, and stimulating thereby the school boards and heads of educational departments to larger efforts, are what is needed throughout the United States. Such work as the League of Foreign-born Citizens is

doing may well be carried on in a thousand different communities.

We purposely omit from this volume any consideration of Naturalization so far as it is purely a matter of the foreign policy of the United States Government. What restrictions may be added to the present laws affecting entry in this country, and all other topics which open the debate upon our foreign relations, are of no bearing upon the problem of naturalization as it stands.

To-day one duty faces the true American. In one way or another he can lend his hand to the process of Americanization, whether it be in getting his neighbor naturalized or throwing his influence and help into the English First campaign, or that of Americanization Day.

Individuals can, of course, and do, besiege legislatures to good effect; but the useful patriot is the one who, in his own corner of the land, reaches out to his alien brother and assists him to meet the legal requirements of naturalization, only as such and no more; giving his assistance with a greater end in view, and with a method free from all political stain. It is a large part, and incidentally

the ceremonial part of Americanization. It is a sublime task. Let us continue in the succeeding chapters to show what You Can Do, whether you are man or woman, of a particular religion or of none; Democrat or Republican, a member of many clubs, or few, or none at all — so long as you are an American. Women's Clubs and patriotic societies naturally come among the first for consideration.

CHAPTER VII

AMERICA AND WOMEN'S CLUBS

IF we take a broad survey of the religious life of America to-day, we cannot fail to see that the factor common to all groups is the desire for service. This desire, an impulse to put the axioms of doctrine to practical use, is a feature so conspicuous that we are blind indeed if we fail to trace it, like a golden thread, woven into every part of the vast design of life. We seldom stop to consider its churchly origin, save in the case of works labeled with one or the other of the ecclesiastical names; but we must not forget that in every case where persons, singly or in groups, devote a penny, or ten minutes' time, or even a prayer to the causes of social uplift, of regeneration, of suffrage, of better citizenship, of home missions, foreign missions, municipal improvement, or any one of the hundreds of charities maintained for the poor and

suffering, the great cause back of such action is — the moral inheritance, the immortal religious impulse in human nature.

And if we were asked to name the factor in the last forty years of social life in America which can be proven to have assisted, abetted, and justified the spirit of the churches in this country, we should unhesitatingly say — it was the women's clubs.

The woman's club is the direct descendant of the church sewing circle. Let us remember that, and always refer to it respectfully. It has gone through a dozen phases of existence; and it has always been a terribly serious thing. It has kept the fires of culture and improvement burning in places and times that were crass and crude. And the woman's club is everywhere. Not a city in the United States, nor a village, is in existence in which you will fail to find in some outward, palpable evidence the proof that the woman's club has tried to enliven existence, to better some condition; striven in some way to put the community's best foot forward. The debt of the country to the woman's club will never be paid; nor do we suppose the

bill will ever be presented. But wherever there is a children's playground, a vacation school, a day nursery, a community kitchen, a pure milk association, a civic center, a people's theater, a floating hospital, a school for the blind poor, a self-help association, a Y. M. C. A., a Y. W. C. A., a seaman's safe harbor, a Chautauqua circle, a city-beautiful movement, an employee's vacation fund, a rest cottage for clerks, a music league, — these, and all other namable forms of social-improvement efforts, where these are, there indeed you may find the names of separate donors, the record of public or private charities; — but in all cases you will discover that the woman's club preached the idea that gave them birth, contributed cash, won them public support, or actually originated and maintained them.

It is well to remember that the early history of the Young Men's Christian Association is inseparably bound with the records of women's clubs, as it is with generous philanthropists. This is equally true of the Young Women's Christian Association, and if we look to the finances of the great organizations for home and foreign missions which are supported by

churches, we can almost discount the individual and strikingly large gifts; for it is the thousand clubs and circles and societies faithfully attended, week in and week out, year after year, by the devoted women to whom these civilizing agencies owe their existence.

We may naturally count, then, upon the women's clubs for invaluable strength in furthering the doctrines and practice of Americanization. Already, indeed, they must be taken into large account in the efforts put forth to date; and in considering them we are bound to find the subject closely knit to the problem of the immigrant woman. For the democratic ideal on which all work for better citizenship is based includes all women as well as all men. Possibly, too, the immigrant woman has the worst of it in America, despite the conditions to which men are subjected in the ruthless slavery of our individual maelstrom.

Therefore we propose, before giving a definite Americanization program for women's clubs, to indicate a few things which can well occupy the center of attention on the part of American women.

It is not too much to say that the wholesome agitation of the public mind

upon the white slave practices — which agitation and education had a tremendous ally, an able spokesman — in the sphere of women's clubs — was the direct cause of all the legislation that has been aimed against that shameful horror. It is to be observed that it was largely through the awakening of men and women to this subject by workers who went into social service communities that the attention of organizations was drawn to white slavery as a vice and a trust pure and simple. This is the most heinous of the abuses to which the immigrant woman has fallen prey; but there are other aspects of her case which cannot too strongly enlist the help of American women.

Many of these aspects bear upon conditions which only the law can ameliorate. Some of them require simply the unremitting attention of investigators to see that laws already existing are obeyed, and others are matters pertaining to Americanization of the spirit — the great understanding in which clubs can render invaluable service.

Nothing could be more usefully accomplished by the women's clubs of a city, or those federated into a powerful

organization representing the club women of a single state, than to enter a publicity campaign aimed to awaken the people, to keep their state informed; and to bear pressure upon the legislative powers, upon labor and home conditions. The following subjects as we suggest them should be of instant appeal.

I. The tenement-house regulations of the city; laws as to sanitation. Does the Club know what local laws exist? What abuses are being tolerated? Who are the landlords and agents?

II. Is sweatshop labor, or piecework done in the homes, being carried on under conditions complying with the fire laws? Do the club members know what civil inspectors are to blame if ordinances on these things are being disobeyed? Does the club assist the Board of Health by any active work aimed to educate the tenement dwellers in hygienic living? Does the club know what proportion of the number of children the day nurseries accommodate out of the total who need such care?

Does the club take cognizance of abuses of women employees in the factories by "speeding up" methods and bonuses for extra production? Are there suitable

rooms for retirement in the factories? Who are the manufacturers in the city that best represent the modern willingness to render working conditions sanitary in their factories? Who are recalcitrants in this respect?

Is the club aware that hundreds of women are being employed under a wages-agreement made before they embarked for this country, or that laborers have been brought into the state from other states by contractors in a way that constitutes peonage? Is the club willing to investigate suspicious cases of this sort, particularly in regard to construction camps, and make known what they discover?

Will the club investigate the evasions or direct violations of the child labor laws in its district? If it is a club in any one of the southern states notorious for delaying compulsory education laws, will the club enter upon a publicity campaign and put the politician out of the race?

Does the club take cognizance of conditions in the department stores? Would it advocate a boycott of such stores as are known to oppress their clerks with "penalties," lack of rest room,

evasion of the eight-hour law, and other well-known malpractices?

The foregoing, as a very partial list of the subjects to which clubs can turn their consideration, are intended only as hints which serve to bring the immigrant woman and her problems closer home. They apply particularly to the cities, large and small, and the thousands of small manufacturing communities of the North and the Northeastern states. But they are applicable in varying degrees throughout the country.

In every club there can well exist a special committee to study the federal and the state laws pertaining to labor, sanitation, housing, and moral conditions. Such a committee should appoint its own investigators (approved by the club as a whole), and it should make inquiry in the homes, in the workrooms, during working hours and out of them, informing itself as to the conditions in every factory.

Nothing of greater help to the immigrant laboring woman can be given than the knowledge that organized bodies of American women are up in arms, on the watch, and in her defense in the long toilsome effort to end her exploitation, her

temptation or her coercion into debasement.

Vastly important in relation to the keeping of the home are the usury law, the eviction laws, and the outrages committed in violation of them, or the sins perpetrated against the ignorant where these laws are lacking or have become a dead letter. In every city these make a subject of investigation by themselves.

So far we are but encouraging knowledge, — only asking the clubs to redouble effort to become aware of all that pertains to the case of the immigrant woman. Let no one think that is a small request. It is the informed mind that fires the will. Out of any organized investigation comes concerted action. Experience has shown that from the club meeting it is but a short road to the editorial and the news columns, to the lobby rooms, the lecture hall, and, in the more enlightened states, to the ballot box.

The entire program of study for use in women's clubs as Frances A. Kellor has arranged it is given in this chapter. It will inform any one completely as to how Americanization can be subdivided into subjects, and it suggests the most helpful sources of information on the

various economic problems that bear on the whole subject of the immigrant.

Apart from study, lecture, publicity work, and the field of theory is the practical application of ideas. Hundreds of clubs are to-day the chief source of support for undertakings that alleviate hardships of the alien, or bring his means of education into his home.

Most appropriately the task of teaching Americanism is the work being done by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Says Mrs. James Dunning, an officer of the D. A. R., in an article on the educational work of this great society with an aggregate membership of ninety-two thousand women:

"The promotion of good citizenship is a work in which the Daughters of the American Revolution are actively interested, and the society, through its National, State and Chapter committees, is exerting a powerful influence in every state for practical 'patriotic education.'

"Our chapters are giving substantial aid to boys' clubs, girls' clubs, settlement schools, to Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. educational work, and to many other organizations of like character. Flags, historical books, and pictures have also

been presented to many schools, clubs and other institutions throughout the country. Good citizenship classes for men and homemaking classes for women, especially among the immigrants, are being maintained, and illustrated lectures upon patriotic subjects are frequently given. Many of the Massachusetts chapters are coöperating with the Mothers' Congress and Parent-Teachers Association in its work, and through the Massachusetts D. A. R. Flag Committee a 'Code,' setting forth the proper uses of the flag and the abuses which should be forbidden, has been published. This little leaflet is designed to be placed in the histories used in the lower grades of our public schools, and is now in use in many states. Large framed copies of this 'Code' have also been hung in many halls and school-rooms.

"Through the influence of this society 'flag drills' and other patriotic exercises have been introduced into many public schools, and in a number of places a better observation of patriotic days has been established. This society has also exerted a strong influence upon legislation in some states, especially in help-

ing to obtain laws prohibiting the use of our country's flag for advertising purposes, and in the regulation of child labor. The D. A. R. of Georgia are now working for a 'Compulsory Education Law,' and Mrs. Shepard Lee Foster, Vice-president-general from that state, has compiled a patriotic reader, the proceeds from the sale of which she devotes to patriotic educational work. It is very difficult to single out special instances of work accomplished, for every chapter in the society is doing something worthy of mention. . . .

"In Illinois a large number of clubs for foreign-born children have been formed, and are being maintained largely by D. A. R. chapters. The Daughters of the American Revolution of Connecticut furnished five thousand dollars to publish the 'Immigrant's Guide to the United States,' by John Foster Carr, and the chapters of many states have assisted in its distribution among the immigrants. The New York chapters have also been actively engaged in immigration work. The North American Civic League has received the coöperation of this society, and now the chapters throughout the country are uniting in raising the funds

for a new building for the American International College for Immigrants. A word relative to this college will show why it especially commends itself to the D. A. R.

“Among the millions who have come here from other lands there are many thousands who know very little if anything of our customs or our laws. There are plenty of people to mislead them and prejudice them against our government. One of their greatest needs is for right leadership. They need leaders who can speak their language and who understand their customs and the laws of their country as well as ours, leaders of their own nationality whom they will respect and can trust, and who will teach them good American citizenship. The American International College is meeting this need. Its work is to train just such leaders, and it is the only college of its kind in the country, the only college that the immigrant can enter without a previous preparation in English which, in most cases, he has neither the time nor the means to acquire; the only college giving special instruction in American citizenship throughout the entire course, and the only one which gives to the immigrant

the advantages of the American home life. This institution is undenominational and coeducational. It is located in Springfield, Massachusetts, a city of American homes in a state having a very large population of foreign birth. The student body of the college is made up of over twenty different nationalities. One hundred and twenty-five can be accommodated in its present buildings. Last year alone one hundred and forty applicants were turned away for lack of room. Many were so anxious to be admitted as soon as possible that they have placed their names upon a waiting list. The former students and graduates from this college are scattered all through the country, and good reports of their work among their fellow countrymen are constantly being received. The American International College is doing a valuable and important work in teaching 'Coming Americans' to be useful among their own countrymen in our land, and if given the loyal support which it deserves, it may become 'the little leaven that will leaven the whole lump,' but it is so hampered by lack of room that the need of a new building is imperative."

Such is the large and effective work

that a society of national importance can effect. Other organizations having purely a more local scope for their activity are accomplishing results none the less striking. In surveying the efforts which societies have put forth to reach the immigrant by a sympathetic cooperation in establishing community theaters, recreation centers, where the artistic and racial spirit of the nationalities can find expression in democratic surroundings, we are at once struck with the importance of this avenue of approach to the alien heart. The folk dances and songs which wise educators have embodied in the playground festivities of children, the establishment in certain communities of exchanges where handicrafts of the old countries find a market, and the opening of competitions in the great fabric mills and jewelry factories of New England, whereby the designs of the artistic worker, the originality of the most humble employee, can find a chance of creation, — these are wonderfully hopeful signs that the native American is opening his eyes and his heart to the possibilities which are in the submerged lives of the laboring alien. We will take occasion to consider the artist as a great

factor in Americanization later on. But we cannot pass without particular notice to the experiment carried on in Pawtucket, R.I., within the last year, which constitutes almost a test case as to the value of the "civic theater" idea in its meaning of a place where the social common interests of a town can be made to serve the ideals of American democracy.

Pawtucket, itself a whirring mill town in the very center of a crowded group of manufacturing cities and villages, boasts an alien population that for its excess over the native stock, and its variety, would seem to present a hopeless problem. Chief among the sponsors and promoters of the Pawtucket Civic Center has been the Pawtucket Woman's Club. Writing in "The Immigrants in America Review" of this effort to put ideals and theories into successful practice, Rev. James D. Dingwell says in part, —

"When you make a study of any industrial and manufacturing community to-day, and realize that in it you have anywhere between 40 to 60 different types (men, women and children, representing that variety of dialect and birth-right environment), you readily recognize the necessity of some one common meet-

ing place, if we are to have any homogeneity in America in the future of any kind — in thinking, habits or government.

“To illustrate: I know one community as I write, where the so-called Americans of that city are accustomed to think of a certain nationality as inhabiting a particular street. They think of the entire section simply by the name of that one nationality. They do not realize, as some of us do, who have come a little closer to their lives and their needs, that in that one nationality there are five or six different and decided types, who have come from different sections of a general geographical area beyond the seas, and that there are also as many different aspects of religious aspiration among them. And yet the traditional native American simply thinks of that section of the city as the part in which the Syrians live.

“Now when you multiply what you find in that one section in the way of dialect and creed, by 10 to 20 other nationalities located in other sections of the same community life, you get some idea of the need of a Civic Center Building, in the ordinary industrial and manufacturing community, if we would have any com-

mon ideals in the direction of American citizenship. The American Constitution guarantees personal liberty in things civil and religious, consistent with law. But American common sense ought to be able to understand that the '57 varieties,' having their own peculiar home habits and church habits, must be afforded a civic center meeting ground for instruction and fellowship in things fundamentally American, if we would have a Democracy that would be unified, intelligent, influential and permanent. And those of us who think of ourselves as real and native Americans need this kind of mingling in the interest of the future, just as much as do our foreign friends.

"It was to meet such existing conditions in our own community life that the Pawtucket Civic Theater was instituted in the spring of 1913. Our meetings were held in a theater for the sake of rising above all sectarian and selfish interests. It was called the 'Civic Theater,' because we wished to make plain that our chief concern was the effort to develop American citizens. Our first local public announcement concerning name and purpose read, "The Civic Theater or School in American Citizenship." The presi-

dent of our committee and organization is ex-Governor James H. Higgins, a devout and loyal Irish Roman Catholic; our treasurer is a man of like religious temperament and relationship. We have leading men and women of all religious types upon our committee, and we are all a unit in the ultimate purpose of our endeavor.

“The size of our audience is limited only by the capacity of our theater. We can seat 1500; frequently, however, we have crowded in 1800. We have issued invitations in six different foreign languages. Because of our limited seating capacity we allow only foreign-speaking peoples to enter. In addition, of course, is the committee in charge, and a company of representative citizens, men and women, who come to share their life and encouragement with the movement. This latter aspect of our activity is perhaps the most telling of all—the friendly contact, the looking into one another’s faces and the friendly handshake as exchanged between the man of strange tongue and habits and the native-born citizen of the community. Boys and girls over 14 years we allow in unaccompanied; we believe that they are the best kind of interpre-

ters of American ideals to the home life.

“We hold a series of meetings each year. Those meetings are held on Sunday nights. No admission fee is charged. The work is supported principally by the free-will gifts of interested individuals, the only conspicuous additional gift coming from the Pawtucket Woman’s Club.

“The major part of the program in time and influence has been made up of moving pictures and illustrated lectures. The moving pictures have been chosen with the distinct thought of their educational value from the American point of view. We use three fifteen-minute films every night and plan to have them cover the following subjects: industrial or scenic; sociological; and always a patriotic film in closing. The audience being largely made up of non-English-speaking people, one can easily see how effectively such subjects can be presented. The pictures are always reviewed by the program committee and the different interpreters before the regular public gathering. In this way everything objectionable can be eliminated. Frequently we have used two films rather than three, because in reviewing we have discovered some unhelp-

ful or objectionable feature in one of the reels and the several interpreters are given a special opportunity to study the pictures and pick out the vital things necessary to be made plain to their respective nationalities.

"Each interpreter, in a five-minute address in his native language, tells his own people the significance of the pictures to be shown on a particular evening. This part of the interpreter's work comes after the opening musical program and prepares the audience to appreciate with both eye and mind the teaching contained in the pictures. Five to seven interpreters assist in almost every meeting. Our musical program is always of the highest class available and consists of choruses, solos, instrumental and vocal; orchestras, and sometimes, as once last season, a band. On one evening we had the Polish Singing Society; on another the German Singing Society; on other evenings we have had the parochial Polish school children; we also have had choruses from some of our local churches.

"Every meeting is presided over by some prominent business man, educator or social worker. Such presiding officer introduces the different numbers on the

program and makes a brief address along some particular patriotic line. For instance, the evening President Faunce of Brown University presided he spoke of the variety of contribution made by the incoming foreigners to our American life.

“When you come to tabulate results of such work, they are not always as conspicuous as many people would like to see. On the whole, however, the work of the Civic Theater in Pawtucket has gone far beyond our expectations. It is too great and too glorious a task — the work we are trying to accomplish — to achieve in a hurry. A few of the things already accomplished may be of interest in concluding this brief article.

“We have positively proven that there is a common meeting ground in our American life for all classes and all creeds and all nationalities. Had we proved nothing further, this, it would seem to me, would be worth all of our effort and expenditure. Another thing that is beautifully obvious in connection with our work is that it has opened up a common-sense, vital avenue, whereby many of our truly sincere and capable men and women find a natural opportunity to express the deeper desires of their hearts to help their

less favored fellow citizens. This is manifest, not alone through the money contributions which they make, but more particularly through their desire to be present at the meetings and to share their friendship with those in whose midst they sit during the evening. Women out of our most wealthy and cultured homes have been anxious to share their lives with us in those meetings, not in a spirit of curiosity, but in a genuine spirit of human friendship and natural service. It has already broken down barriers, such as exist in too many communities, between the native-born American and the so-called 'foreigner.' It has served to re-interpret to us all the meaning of the great divine-human phrases, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

"The civic theater meetings have done another thing, they have placed the thought of American citizenship on a high and dignified plane. The seriousness and sacredness of American citizenship, as well as its glory and privilege, is always conspicuously evident in every gathering.

"If in addition to our great Sunday night meetings, we had a Civic Center

Building, that could be kept open every day and night in the week, and facilities whereby we could touch every legitimate aspect of life through training, then we could even hope to see greater and better things accomplished than the things already noted, which have so greatly inspired our devotion to the civic center idea. The civic principle and approach is not only the common-sense path for every worker interested in the immigrant situation and better citizenship, but it is the psychological path and the psychological approach. How long will it take us to see that such a civic center building in every community is not alone a necessity in the interest of 'better citizenship,' but one of the most economic investments that can be made?"

The value of what women's clubs can do to educate public sentiment, to further the cause of the immigrant woman, to bring about better housing, to make Americanization Day celebrations a living factor for better citizenship, cannot be estimated. Occasionally, as in Pawtucket, it may be that active support of a civic center or civic theater may be possible, or that the maintenance of one or the other of the important chari-

ties can be undertaken. But it is not the charitable or the financial side of the matter that is the real consideration. The actual rôle of the club is that of the educator if the club exists at all for anything outside the cultural advance of its members. The club that wants to serve America can do so in a hundred different ways, all of them part of the Americanization scheme that means, — Be Active, Not passive, in your own Americanism. No program more complete as an outline for the study of American conditions and the way to educate oneself and others in Americanism has been brought forth than that of Miss Frances A. Kellor, whose syllabus of studies and suggestions, addressed particularly to women's clubs, is herewith appended.

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AMERICANIZATION

What Women's Organizations Can Do

TO AMERICAN WOMEN :

Americanize one Immigrant Woman

Get one Immigrant to become a Citizen

Teach one Foreign-born Mother English

**Put one Immigrant Family on your
Calling List**

NATIONAL AMERICANIZATION COMMITTEE

20 West 34th Street, New York City

AMERICANIZATION

Program of Work for Women's Organizations

Clubs and organizations of various kinds are alive with interest in Americanization, and are working out definite programs in their committees.

The work is particularly fitted for women's organizations:

1. The immigrant woman is a neglected factor in our civilization. Her degree of assimilation is unnoted; no provision is made for her instruction; the thought of citizenship is seldom associated with her, and she is given scant consideration in the development of our communities.
2. Women's organizations can do much to educate public sentiment, to influence boards of education, health, housing, etc., and society at large to remedy community neglect.
3. Women's organizations can encourage the holding of Americanization Day Celebrations, urge the

participation of immigrant women in national holidays, and secure a part for them in all celebrations.

The work needed is definite and practical. It is outlined in this program. Suggestions and also specific plans of work in accordance with the general leads will be furnished upon application.

EDUCATION AND LIBRARY COMMITTEES

I. Make English the Universal Language.

1. Study the conditions that already exist:

- (a) Are there night schools and classes? If so,**
- (b) What proportion of the immigrant population attend?**
- (c) What proportion of the immigrant population do not speak English and are not naturalized and why do they not attend night school?**

2. Improve existing conditions:

- (a) Urge the Board of Education to institute classes for men and women.**
- (b) Influence public opinion to secure support of Boards of Estimate and City Councils.**
- (c) Coöperate with Board of Education in establishing afternoon classes for women.**
- (d) Conduct regular afternoon classes for women as a club activity.**

II. Enlist All Educational Agencies of the Community for Americanization as a Social Necessity.

1. Libraries. — Secure their use:

(a) As a place for classes, if needed.

(b) As reading rooms.

(Urge that simple books about America be supplied in foreign languages, and that bibliographies in foreign languages be circulated by means of books issued to children.)

(c) For lectures in English and foreign languages.

(d) As a meeting place for foreign societies.

(e) As a meeting place for Mothers' Clubs and classes.

2. Settlement Houses, Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and other centers, for the same purposes and other purposes of similar nature.

III. Awaken the Community to the Importance of Americanization as a Civic Necessity.

1. Ask local newspapers to present local immigration facts concerning literacy and illiteracy, percentage in night school attendance, importance of immigrant workmen in productiveness of town, etc.

2. Suggest to editor the various aspects of the Americanization of immigrant women.

3. Make a special point of need of Americanization in immigrant homes as a basis of good citizenship and social solidarity.

CIVIC AND LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

I. Promote Naturalization.

1. Study the requirements for naturalization. (Send to the U. S. Naturalization Bureau for pamphlet.)
2. Study existing conditions:
 - (a) The number of naturalized immigrants in the community as compared with foreign-born population.
3. Interest community forces in promoting citizenship among men:
 - (a) Urge employers to explain industrial and other advantages.
 - (b) Interest the best type of political leaders to present to unnaturalized men in a simple way the direct importance to them of the vote.
4. Interest immigrant women in citizenship:
 - (a) Urge them to induce their husbands to apply for papers, and explain the advantages to their husbands and to themselves.
 - (b) Inform them that single women may be naturalized by the same process as men.

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and that married women become naturalized when their husbands take out papers.

5. Urge the Board of Education to conduct citizenship classes; standardized through the Federal Bureau of Education and the Bureau of Naturalization, for women as well as men.
6. Urge federal and county judges to accept school certificates in lieu of court examination for citizenship. (California does this.)
7. Urge raising the dignity of entrance into citizenship by naturalization ceremonials and public receptions to new citizens on suitable holidays.

II. Propose or Work for Legislation.

1. Urge a State law authorizing any school district to employ home teachers, not over one for every 500 students in daily attendance in the district, to instruct both children and adults in their homes in English, concerning preparation for and attendance at school, sanitation, the purchase of food and clothing, and civics. (California has such a law.)
2. Urge a State law regulating sanitary conditions in labor camps, with minimum requirements as to water supply, baths, sewage disposal, garbage removal, etc. (California and New York State have such laws.)
3. Urge a State law authorizing the health authorities in any locality to inspect premises of any size that they have reason to think are not in a sani-

tary condition, inspection to cover ventilation, air space, toilet facilities, water supply, etc.

4. Study legislation making establishment of night schools mandatory, and determine what to urge in school laws for your State.
5. Study laws governing private banks, and urge stringent laws to protect immigrants' savings. (New York State has such a law.)

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL, HOME ECONOMICS, AND PUBLIC HEALTH COMMITTEES

I. Secure an American Standard of Living in Every Part of Your Community.

1. Learn to what extent immigrant women and housewives understand American ways:
 - (a) Gain an entrance by accompanying a public health nurse or by going in a simple, friendly way to homes where there are sick babies, or by whatever way opens.
2. Study general conditions of homes:
 - (a) What food does the immigrant woman buy?
 - (b) How does she feed and clothe her children?
 - (c) What is her idea of ventilation?
 - (d) What is her idea of sanitation?
3. Investigate water supply. Is it the same throughout the town?

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4. Study the question of lodgers:

- (a) Why are they taken?
- (b) If not necessary for income, can immigrant women be persuaded not to have them?

5. Improve conditions of homes:

- (a) Request Federal Commissioner of Education to issue pamphlet on Domestic Education for Immigrant Women.
- (b) Urge community agencies, including women's organizations, to finance pamphlets or leaflets in foreign languages for immigrant women.
- (c) Urge Board of Education to maintain classes in Domestic Education. (Ask for use of Domestic Science equipment in schools.)
- (d) Arrange for the employment of domestic educator through some community agency, to raise the standard of living.
- (e) Organize "friendly visiting" in immigrant homes under the guidance of a visiting nurse or professional social worker, as a club activity.
- (f) Coöperate with Social Agencies and Settlement Houses which have "Mothers' Clubs" for immigrant women, and clubs for immigrant girls.

6. Study what Americanizing influences are at work among working women in factories, canneries, etc., other than labor organizations and develop new ways of bringing American influences to immigrant women.

II. Encourage Savings and Investments in America.

1. Investigate rents:

- (a) Do rents paid by immigrants correspond in value received to rents in other sections of the community? If "company houses," are they adequate in number, size, etc.?**

2. Study the disposition of savings:

- (a) Coöperate with the Legal Aid Society in safeguarding the savings of immigrants.**
- (b) Point out the evils of:**
 - Buying on the installment plan.**
 - Borrowing money at high interest of loan sharks.**
 - Responding to unreliable advertisements.**

III. Improve Health Conditions.

- 1. Find out whether standards of public health and enforcement of public health laws are the same in immigrant and native sections.**
- 2. Study both sections thoroughly and compare them as to:**
 - (a) Possibilities of outdoor play and recreation.**
 - (b) Facilities for bathing: beaches, pools, in schools.**
 - (c) Sources of epidemics; how often due to local or sectional conditions.**
 - (d) School buildings: crowding, ventilation, cleanliness.**
 - (e) Neighborhood congestion: exact causes.**

- (f) Conditions in industrial plants: ventilation, light, causes of fatigue.

3. Secure publication of public health laws in foreign languages as well as in English, and have them posted in immigrant sections as well as native. These laws may cover :

- (a) Spitting and prevention of tuberculosis.
- (b) Control of contagious diseases.
- (c) Public drinking cups and towels.
- (d) Waste and garbage.
- (e) Toilets and flies.
- (f) Hours of work for women.
- (g) Vaccination.
- (h) Smoke.
- (i) Sale of alcohol and patent medicine.
- (j) Food adulteration.
- (k) Housing.

4. Show health authorities exactly how the conditions of public health have been influenced by the influx of immigrants and resulting congestion, and urge them to extend to the immigrant sections especially facilities for :

- (a) Registering births and deaths.
- (b) Promoting rural and school nursing.
- (c) Educating in infant care.
- (d) Licensing, standardizing, and supervising midwives.
- (e) Preventing blindness in the newborn.
- (f) Providing segregation and proper care for contagious diseases and advanced cases of tuberculosis.

5. Assist health authorities to obtain adequate appropriations for their work by pointing out in the public press, and in other ways, health conditions that have resulted from the industrial growth and prosperity of the town.
6. Reach foreign-born and native children alike in a campaign of health education for Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Little Mothers' Leagues, Clubs for Working Girls.

CHAPTER VIII

NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

NOT since the decade preceding the Civil War have the people of the United States found themselves so vividly divided upon an abstract theme as they are to-day in the matter of national defense. In the present period of factions, however, there is no North or South, East or West; the sectional element is out of the question. Amidst the mental confusion, the prejudices of race, the abnormal extremists on either side are next-door neighbors, and the pacifist is to be found alongside the militarist, wherever you look.

These two, the man who would have peace at any price and the man who would preserve America by preparing for any possible conflict, occupy the center of the present scene in America, not because their debate is actually the most important thing in our national problem,

but for the reason that it happens to be the dramatic phase or side-issue of a greater subject. It is the popular topic, and the person who would try to answer it without seeing its relation to the greater topic, its absolute parenthood in the matter of internal American unity will find that he cannot answer it at all.

Preparedness against invasion (for that is the kind of preparedness which is universally meant in the discussion) would assure no salvation for a country whose citizens were at daggers' points with each other. The question of an army or navy greater or smaller than our existing branches of national defense has a tremendous bearing upon the future of America, but the question of internal unity, national solidarity, discounts this and all other questions.

The very fact that any discussion should exist at all upon military preparedness, that the necessity of it should be brought to question, indicates a loss of national consciousness. And this loss is due to causes which we must enter into if we are to get the slightest conception of why the America of to-day is filled not only with disgruntled and

traitorous aliens, but is likewise put upon by pacifists, timorous or visionary, who, even though they be Americans of one or several generations, have confused in their minds the national idea of America and the principles for which all true and loyal Americans stand.

We have said that the pacifists in this country were of two sorts, the timorous and the visionary. We must give these people a word in passing, for certain of the aliens, who have outraged decency and defied us with their acts and words, are related to one or both of the classes. The timorous pacifist we understand to be that person who opposes military preparation of the slightest kind because he sees no justification in war and no truth in the axiom that to be prepared for war is to avoid war. He is afraid. There is among his sympathizers, however, the anti-militarist who would rather have the United States unprepared than to see it better prepared than his "fatherland." He takes advantage of the sentiment and helps to make it current, to agitate it. Scarcely ever does he let it be known, however, that he quit his native heath the year before he was of age for military duty. That was when

he saw "arms and the man" in a different light.

There is the second class of pacifist, the visionary, whose opinion we can at least respect for its nebulous beauty. But we can drive him to the wall with one unanswerable question. The dreamer who sees in the sublime destiny of America an exalted state which already renders her "too proud to fight" invariably enunciates the idea that America could teach and materialize an eternal peace by throwing down arms. What such a visionary will not answer is the query: Would you sacrifice America? He is not prepared to answer this, for to admit that America were better, invaded and despoiled, than America resisting, is to postulate no peace at all, only centuries of more war in retaliation and regeneration.

Yet it is on such shaky ground, such quicksand, that the peace-at-any-price man stands. He can be pushed but a very little distance towards the extremes of his hypothesis before he is driven to begging the whole question. And he begs it always with the assurance that America could not be invaded anyway. This is the thing which only the seer and the prophet need have the

temerity to declare. Let us recall and bear in mind that science knows no limits to its performances. Every year reveals new wonders, and the prophets who foretold these wonders were subjects of ridicule by the vast herds of mediocrity. Let us but heed the history of electricity and of other agents, chemical and physical, which have reduced the world to man's will. To do this is to stop short, with tongue between the teeth, before we declare what shall or shall not be in the years of no greatly distant future.

This question of invasion, however, for all that it bears on no actual perplexity of the hour and seems consequently to be almost out of our discussion, comes close home to the soul of America. Purely as a scholastic query it is actually a part of the spiritual unpreparedness of the United States.

That we must search the spirit and correct it, that "preparedness" is first of the national soul, and then of the body, can have no mightier testimony than that of Colonel Roosevelt. In his address to the Knights of Columbus he speaks of this point with splendid emphasis.

"I am, as you know, a most ardent believer in national preparedness against war as a means of securing that honorable and self-respecting peace which is the only peace desired by all high-spirited people. But it is an absolute impossibility to secure such preparedness in full and proper form if it is an isolated feature of our policy. The lamentable fate of Belgium has shown that no justice in legislation or success in business will be of the slightest avail if the nation has not prepared in advance the strength to protect its rights. But it is equally true that there cannot be this preparation in advance for military strength unless there is a social basis of civil and social life behind it. There must be social, economic, and military preparedness all alike, all harmoniously developed; and above all there must be spiritual and mental preparedness.

"There must be not merely preparedness in things material; there must be preparedness in soul and mind. To prepare a great army and navy without preparing a proper national spirit would avail nothing."

The necessity of bringing the national spirit to a re-birth lies in causes, we

believe, more profound than the external ones which we have tried to outline in our previous chapters. Our economic welfare, and, to a good measure, our spiritual future depend on unity of language, better living conditions, fairer treatment, a general practice of brotherly love. But it is not in these alone, nor by the lack of these things entirely, that the United States is going to preserve itself, or that it stands before the world at large with a head bowed in shame for its Phariseeism and its domestic shoutings and discord.

To prepare for anything, whether it be wars internal or external, or succeeding years of peace, America must return to first principles, and it must be revealed as voices shouting from the housetops. Those who are unaware of these principles, or knowing them would deny them, are the actual aliens who have no place in our destiny — the undesirables, the dangerous.

To a large degree the nation has lost its epic consciousness. We use this term after much thought in the endeavor to name the thing which is the mainspring, the motive power in patriotism. The foreigner resident in this country—who

feels little or none of that zest for national existence in the United States which he was conscious of in Italy or Poland or Roumania — can scarcely be expected to get it here, if contact with the native American is contact with an individual who more than likely decries his land instead of exalting it.

Let us put this first, then, — the lost epic consciousness of the American is at the root of the unprepared, timorous phase of our national life which to-day puts us in a dilemma. Epic consciousness means, in this case, an awareness of the adventurous and sublime narrative, the purpose, and the splendid future of the country. It is the kind of consciousness which makes America a poem in the mind, it is the very thing which makes the French people one and all and everywhere refer to "La belle France." It is epic consciousness which fires the Briton not only to sing but to believe his "Rule Britannia."

Thousands of us long ago discovered that we were a sick nation. The threatened dawn of plutocracy, the threatened wreck of the entire morale of the republic in graft, dishonesty, and money tyranny, led us to uncover one sin after

another until we were disgusted with ourselves as a nation. Thousands — particularly the highly educated leaders of thought — saw in the analogies of history, in Greece and Rome, for instance, the counterpart of our probable decline. If it was not said in the market place, it was rumored in the classroom, and during the last decade the recurrent clashes of labor and capital in a hundred instances, the exposure of political wrongdoing in every state of the Union, and the vast increase of large fortunes, have combined to instill timorousness, disrespect, a loss of vision, and an actual forgetting of tradition throughout the land. This is the real reason why we have the beam in our own eyes to cast out before we can relieve our alien brother of the mote that is in his. Let us not go so far as to say of the febrile condition of the United States that during all this popular upheaval the country has not been struggling to right itself.

How deeply this malaise of national loss of self-respect has gone into our fiber can be seen never so clearly as by contrasting the God-fearing sense of national duty as it was in the times of such Americans as Monroe and Webster with the

lack of those elements of greatness in our present day. There is in the history of this country an instance of patriotism which is unique, and which we propose to bring to light; for those unaware of it say that in the failure of the United States to protest against the invasion of Belgium by Germany in 1914 this country had no precedent to go on. They are mistaken; there was sent by President Monroe and Congress assembled in 1823 a protest to European powers which should have served as the very model of a protest to Germany. The circumstances were almost identical; the threatened extirpation of the Greek nation and the imminent peril of its being bartered to the heathenish Turk led Mr. Webster to address Congress in one of his most sublime orations. The response was a protest which made the whole world ring, nor did it bring war upon us. It justified America in the sight of God and man — exactly as the failure to protest against the dishonorable ragging to pieces of a treaty and against the barbarous assault upon Belgium by Germany has called down merited disaster upon us to-day and has earned us the scorn of the civilized portion of the

world. We propose to quote a goodly section of Mr. Webster's speech. If the reader will substitute Belgium for "Greece" and "Germany" for "the Powers," he will find that Webster's immortal words might have been written yesterday.

"As the leading republic of the world, living and breathing in these principles, and advanced, by their operation, with unequaled rapidity in our career, shall we give our consent to bring them into disrepute and disgrace? . . . Does it not become us, then, is it not a duty imposed on us, to give our weight to the side of liberty and justice, to let mankind know that we are not tired of our own institutions, and to protest against the asserted power of altering at pleasure the law of the civilized world? . . .

"It may, in the next place, be asked, perhaps, supposing all this be true, what can we do? Are we to go to war? Are we to interfere in the Greek cause, or any other European cause? Are we to endanger our pacific relations? No, certainly not. What, then, the question recurs, remains for us? If we will not endanger our own peace, if we will neither furnish armies nor navies to the

cause which we think the just one, what is there within our power?

“Sir, this reasoning mistakes the age. The time has been, indeed, when fleets, and armies, and subsidies, were the principal reliances even in the best cause. But, happily for mankind, a great change has taken place in this respect. Moral causes come into consideration, in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced; and the public opinion of the civilized world is rapidly gaining an ascendancy over mere brutal force. It is already able to oppose the most formidable obstruction to the progress of injustice and oppression; and as it grows more intelligent and more intense, it will be more and more formidable. It may be silenced by military power, but it cannot be conquered. It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to the weapons of ordinary warfare. It is that impassible, unextinguishable enemy of mere violence and arbitrary rule, which, like Milton’s angels,

“‘Vital in every part, . . .

Cannot but by annihilating, die.’

“Until this be propitiated or satisfied, it is vain power to talk either of triumphs or of repose. No matter what fields are

desolated, what fortresses surrendered, what armies subdued, or what provinces overrun. . . . In the history of the year that has passed by us, . . . we have seen the vanity of all triumphs in a cause which violates the general sense of justice of the civilized world. . . . There is an enemy that still exists to check the glory of these triumphs. It follows the conqueror back to the very scene of his ovations; it calls upon him to take notice that Europe, though silent, is yet indignant; it shows him that the scepter of his victory is a barren scepter; that it shall confer neither joy nor honor, but shall molder to dry ashes in his grasp. In the midst of his exultation, it pierces his ear with the cry of injured justice; it denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened and civilized age; it turns to bitterness the cup of his rejoicing, and wounds him with the sting which belongs to the consciousness of having outraged the opinion of mankind."

We need not dwell upon the sad difference between those days when we dared as a people to declare our democratic principles loudly and to the very face of tyranny, wholly for the sake of giving our moral support to the downtrodden

and weak, with these days of doubt and fear when as a nation we are requested by our own Chief Executive to hold our peace and be neutral. As though there could be a middle path between right and wrong! When Webster thundered the doctrine of American convictions at the assembled potentates who would have debased Greece and given it to the Turk, there existed no treaty which compelled the United States to any such daring and righteous course. It was a free-will gift. In the case of Belgium this country was signatory to the Hague treaty which was befouled and cast out by the hand of Germany. That act justly earned her the execration of every nation but the very one which in the nature of God and humanity, and by the precedents of all that is Christian in history, should have risen on the instant to protest.

Nothing could demonstrate our spiritual unpreparedness more conclusively. And we must set about the repairing of our self-respect in due order if we are to have a rag of it left with which to clothe ourselves. Let us take a long perspective, look far ahead. Can we not see that this revelation of the nation's weakness is ordered for good? It is the handwrit-

ing on the wall; and God is granting us a second chance. Has not the bitter mortification been useful to the very end of awakening us? May it not be that the behavior of many of our pro-German residents, the accumulated insults to the country on the part of artisans, artists, professors, laborers, and professional criminals, who uphold Hohenzollernism and fling the offal of ingratitude in our faces, will serve as punishment that will stir us to putting our house in order? May it not dawn upon us that our Americanism has been put to sleep, and that we have our national epic consciousness to reawaken, revitalize, and turn to account by sounding again the history and the music of America, its ideal, whether or not we believe in a big navy or a little one?

If we could avoid it, the mention of the *Lusitania* murderers and the long list of subsequent outrages perpetrated by Germany, directly to signalize her contempt of us, should not enter this discussion. But we are forced to speak of them as the material fruit of our soul cowardice, in order to project them in a picture which comes to its actual climax in the temerity of those foreign powers

that have presumed to dictate to American citizens, threatening them with punishments, for being nothing more nor less than Americans. How far-reaching the Teutonic powers have been in their propaganda of contempt for our laws and for international law can be judged by the following, which is quite generally known as a fact, but is so trenchantly detailed by Mr. Fletcher in the *Atlantic Monthly* that we give his exact words:

“The following advertisement is said to have been published in many Austro-Hungarian newspapers in the United States: ‘The Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Embassy, acting under orders from the home government, gives notice by this announcement to all Austrian and Hungarian citizens, including the men from Bosnia and Herzegovina, in conformity with paragraph 327 of the Austrian Military Criminal Law, that all workmen who are employed in factories in this country which are making either arms or ammunition for the enemies of your country are guilty of a crime against the military safety of your fatherland. This crime is punishable by from ten to twenty years’ impris-

onment and, in especially aggravating circumstances, by the penalty of death. Against those who violate this order, the whole force of the law will be invoked in the event of their return hereafter to their own country.'

"In the case of the more important foreigners, imbued with a deep sense and willingness of their native country to punish relentlessly any violation of its laws, even when committed in this country, it is not likely that the ceremony of naturalization, whose significance is but feebly grasped and whose legal effect is at the best obscure and doubtful, can emancipate them from the dominion of a sovereignty which claims the right to follow them to the ends of the earth.

"Lately a number of applicants for citizenship in the courts of Minneapolis were examined by an officer of the United States Naturalization Bureau. He put to each of them this question: 'I have been told that Germany and some of the other countries of Europe have passed laws permitting their native born to enlist in their armies and enjoy all the privileges of full citizenship even though such native born may be naturalized citizens of the United States. I have

also been told that there are laws in those countries aiming to affect the actions of the native born even when they are in the United States, and aiming also to hold them to observance of the laws of the European countries. Now I want to know, if such laws exist, whether you intend to obey them or be governed by them in any way?' The applicants are said to have answered that they would pay no attention to any such laws, and all said that they did not know that the laws had been passed.

"They were also asked: 'You may sometime be called upon to pass the supreme test of citizenship and loyalty; you may be asked to bear arms against the land of your birth. Will you do it if you are called?' And they answered that they would take up arms against their native land if called.

"Those promises may or may not have been sincere; the questions may or may not have been clearly understood. The applicants may believe to-day that they would fight against their native land if called upon; but when the crucial time comes, and the summons of his adopted country sounds in his ears while the call of his ancestral country rings in his

heart, nobody knows which call the German-American will answer."

The picture of how America has fallen in the estimation of the world since the days of her proud nobility to the day when Teuton tyrants can dictate to her subjects could not be more astounding. At this very angle of the road, exactly here, where our slothful lack of self-respect has trapped us into harboring traitors — our whole problem of the immigrant as a domestic one becomes involved in our international policy. We have been unprepared in heart and have suddenly been brought to realize that we are unprepared in every other particular. The terrible questions which we must put to ourselves in the face of these invasions by torpedo and by written insult are wonderfully summed up in an address by Mr. Elihu Root:

"We have learned that civilization is but a veneer thinly covering the savage nature of man; that conventions, courtesies, respect for law, regard for justice and humanity, are acquired habits, feebly constraining the elemental forces of man's nature developed through countless centuries of struggle against wild beasts and savage foes. We have been forced to

perceive that a nation which fulfills the conditions on which alone it can continue to exist, which preserves its independence and the liberty of its people and makes its power a shield for the rights of its citizens, must deal with greed and lust of conquest and of power and indifference to human rights. We have seen that neither the faith of treaties nor the law of nations affords protection to the weak against the aggression of the strong. We have begun to realize that America, with its vast foreign trade, with its citizens scattered over the whole earth, with millions of aliens upon its soil, with its constantly increasing participation in world wide efforts for the benefit of mankind, with a thousand bonds of intercourse and intimacy uniting it to other nations, is no longer isolated; that our nation can no longer live unto itself alone or stand aloof from the rest of mankind; that we must play some part in the progress of civilization, recognize some duties as correlative to our rights. For the first time within the memory of men now living, the international relations of the United States, long deemed of trifling consequence, are recognized as vital. How can this nation,

which loves peace and intends justice, avoid the curse of militarism and at the same time preserve its independence, defend its territory, protect the lives and liberty and property of its citizens? How can we prevent the same principles of action, the same policies of conduct, the same forces of military power which are exhibited in Europe from laying hold upon the vast territory and practically undefended wealth of the new world? Can we expect immunity? Can we command immunity? How shall we play our part in the world? Have selfish living and factional quarreling and easy prosperity obscured the spiritual vision of our country? Has the patriotism of a generation never summoned to sacrifice become lifeless? Is our nation one, or a discordant multitude? Have we still national ideals? Will anybody live for them? Would anybody die for them? Or are we all for ease and comfort and wealth at any price?"

How dangerous it is simply "to muddle along" without due knowledge of the defects in our armor cannot be better illustrated than in this very instance of the warnings issued from European courts and aimed at Americans who engage in

the manufacture of firearms and ammunition. We seem astounded at the effrontery of it as we were knocked breathless by the impudence of the Kaiser in warning Americans off the seas. But we are absolutely to blame. Why have we not long ago determined our sovereignty over admitted aliens and guaranteed them American protection even if they have only filed papers of intention? Why have we left any loophole through which a foreign prince can insert the tentacles of his authority to retain the allegiance of newcomers to this country? Why have we allowed propaganda of the German kulturists to infect our universities and instill by every æsthetic and scientific appeal a misgiving for democracy, an apologetic patronage of Americanism, into the minds of youth?

The answer is the same to these and all other queries relative to our year of discontent. We have forgotten the epic of America. We have been slothful in glorifying it, in teaching it, and above all in practicing it. Let us return to Colonel Roosevelt's Knights of Columbus speech. In it is the sane and inclusive statement of what preparedness means

in relation to arms and armies, together with a brief statement of the unities of heart and language which we must struggle to attain:

“Therefore, we should devote ourselves as a preparative to preparedness, alike in peace and war, to secure the three elemental things: one, a common language, the English language; two, the increase in our social loyalty — citizenship absolutely undivided, a citizenship which acknowledges no flag except the flag of the United States and which emphatically repudiates all duality of intention or national loyalty; and third, an intelligent and resolute effort for the removal of industrial and social unrest, an effort which shall aim equally at securing every man his rights and to make every man understand that unless he in good faith performs his duties he is not entitled to any rights at all.” * * *

“But why do you not admit aliens under a bond to learn to read and write within a certain time? It would then be a duty to see that they were given ample opportunity to learn to read and write and that they were deported if they failed to take advantage of the opportunity. No man can be a good citizen if he is not at

least in process of learning to speak the language of his fellow citizens. And an alien who remains here without learning to speak English for more than a certain number of years should at the end of that time be treated as having refused to take the preliminary steps necessary to complete Americanization and should be deported." * * *

"The foreign-born population of this country must be an Americanized population — no other kind can fight the battles of America either in war or peace. It must talk the language of its native-born fellow citizens, it must possess American citizenship and American ideals. It must stand firm by its oath of allegiance in word and deed and must show that in very fact it has renounced allegiance to every prince, potentate, or foreign government. It must be maintained on an American standard of living so as to prevent labor disturbances in important plants and at critical times. None of these objects can be secured as long as we have immigrant colonies, ghettos, and immigrant sections, and above all they cannot be assured so long as we consider the immigrant only as an industrial asset. The immigrant must not

be allowed to drift or to be put at the mercy of the exploiter. Our object is not to imitate one of the older racial types, but to maintain a new American type and then to secure loyalty to this type." . . .

"I am certain that the only permanently safe attitude for this country as regards national preparedness for self-defense is along the lines of universal service on the Swiss model. It has been found as a matter of actual practical experience in Switzerland that the universal military training has made a very marked increase in social efficiency and in the ability of the man thus trained to do well for himself in industry. The man who has received the training is a better citizen, is more self-respecting, more orderly, better able to hold his own, and more willing to respect the rights of others and at the same time he is a more valuable and better paid man in his business. We need that the navy and the army should be greatly increased and that their efficiency as units and in the aggregate should be increased to an even greater degree than their numbers. An adequate regular reserve should be established. Economy should be insisted

on and first of all in the abolition of useless army posts and navy yards. The National Guard should be supervised and controlled by the Federal War Department. Training camps such as at Plattsburg should be provided on a nationwide basis and the government should pay the expenses. Foreign-born as well as native-born citizens should be brought together in those camps; and each man at the camp should take the oath of allegiance as unreservedly and unqualifiedly as the men of its regular army and navy now take it. Not only should battleships, battle cruisers, submarines, ample coast and field artillery be provided and a greater ammunition supply system, but there should be a utilization of those engaged in such professions as the ownership and management of motor cars, in aviation, and in the profession of engineering. Map-making and road improvement should be attended to, and, as I have already said, the railroads brought into intimate touch with the War Department. Furthermore, all munition plants should be carefully surveyed with special reference to their geographic distribution and for the possibility of increased munition and supply factories.

Finally, remember that the men must be sedulously trained in peace to use its material or we shall merely prepare our ships, guns, and products as gifts to the enemy. All of these things should be done in any event, but let us never forget that the most important of all things is to introduce universal military service." . . .

CHAPTER IX

ORGANIZED FOR PEACE

IT has been the experience of men and races of men that strength in reserve, the poise and confidence of unexhausted power, is the sign of an advanced and balanced civilization. In the individual it stands for that degree of equipoise between mental and physical powers which Greece symbolized in Hermes and Athena, Rome enjoyed in its Augustan days, and in modern times has had no better example than the period of our own history which was marked by our sweeping the pirates from the Mediterranean for humanity's sake and our own, while at home we tilled the soil, went steadily about our business, believed in America, and worshiped God.

From 1814 to 1850 we stood before the whole world as a consciously powerful, outspoken nation, ready to battle against evil, to uphold the idea of human

liberty, to repel aggression, and to seek no quarrel. The calm words of the sublime Washington were remembered, and we avoided then, as we have still managed to avoid, any entangling foreign alliances; but the voice of Patrick Henry was reëchoed in the thunder notes of Webster when we gave the world to understand what we thought of the violation of Greece, and the world learned what we meant, too, by declaring against piracy when Admiral Preble demolished the Barbary freebooters off the coast of Tunis. Those were the golden decades of our national being. Compared to them the eighty years that followed (making all reverent allowance for the holy struggle of the Civil War) seem more of a spiritual decline, a national indifference, a perplexed and unfaithful forgetting than anything else. A recrudescence of our epic consciousness was experienced in the freeing of Cuba, and a monument to our good-hearted generosity will always be remembered in the fact that we paid Spain a huge sum for the inconvenience she put us to. We exacted no fruits of conquest, and submitted cash for the privilege of civilizing the Filipinos and giving them schools

and sewerage. History records no other act similar in spirit or dimension to this ; it does us universal and eternal credit.

Nevertheless, we have drifted: drifted in our administration of such great departments as those of the army and navy, drifted in the policy of immigration, drifted in our whole range of political thought so far as it touches the rest of the world, until we have been driven by the world events into such a corner that we must declare ourselves, whether we like it or not.

And so far as we have given the world any notion of where we stand, the dominant note of our words and our inactive quiescence may be taken to be the note of peace. We have sat at Hague councils and we have sat still while war was being carried on against us by Germany, both on the high seas and in our cities throughout America ; in the determination for peace we have both given counsel and endured aggressive insult.

To many of us this has not been so much a case of patience on a monument as endurance on the rack. But whatever it has been, the fact remains that we were unorganized to maintain the very peace that we desired for ourselves and

for the rest of the world. In this disorganization, a chaos of political creeds and social disagreements, lies the difference between the America of to-day and the single-purposed, whole-souled America of those decades we have mentioned. There were no millions upon millions of aliens in the country then, to be made political spoil of; no thousands of self-seeking Teutons to publish vituperation against our government and extol that military aristocracy which they had basely deserted when they came hither; no nice questions and debates in the minds of men as to what was the heritage and duty handed down to Americans from their forefathers; for even as the foreigners began to pour in and the country waxed richer, expanded and threw its railroads over the mountains, there abode a unity of conception, an ideal of America which permitted no sheering to the winds of frenzied doctrine. Whether Whig or Democrat were uppermost, no one debated the question of human liberty and what must be done to preserve it here or defend it elsewhere.

What elements have led to the disorganization of the national consciousness and the spineless condition of the

national conscience we will not seek to determine. It can be hinted that individual selfishness, the rush for luxury, the shirking of family life and duties, the forcing of woman into industrial life and her oppression, the banishment of religious instruction from the schools — are conspicuous ingredients in the bad compound of American life as we have let it evolve. But certain it is that if we are to be organized for peace and prepared for war, sane acknowledgment of these things, and sincere effort to correct them will be needed.

Says Mr. Roosevelt:

"We must clarify and define our policies. We must show that our belief in our governmental ideas is so real that we wish to make them count in the world at large and to make the necessary sacrifice in order that they shall count surely. We of this great republic have a contribution to make to the cause of humanity, and we cannot make it unless we first show that we can secure prosperity and fair dealing among our own men and women.

"I believe that in a crisis so grave it is impossible too greatly to magnify the needs of the country, or too strongly to

dwell on the necessity of minimizing and subordinating the desires of individuals."

There is not one of the elements which in its correction as in its origin does not touch upon the relation of the various groups of nationality, one to another. The rather indifferent ease of a large class of Americans to-day is itself very generally an outcome of the ability which capital has possessed to despoil the ignorant laborer, while the rôle of the politician needs no explanation. "English First" is the beginning of the end of much abuse and misunderstanding on both sides; but in the matter of religious training, the rearing of young America in something at least approaching respect for God and ideals of humanity, there opens up a broad and distressing question. The only thing about it that admits of no question is the fact that the banishment of the religious element from our schools has done incalculable harm.

For the reason of sectarian dispute, it has been judged expedient to leave all religion out of school exercises, all worship out of school assemblages, and to beg the whole question, leaving the child's mind untouched by fear of God or respect for ideals. The differences between the sects

has led to the abandonment of the great, essential, basic thing without which it is only natural to find a generation of irreverent and even violent "hyphenates," and a large number of indifferent, shallow-thinking youths in our colleges.

The Roman Catholics have persistently, successfully, and with no means but their own gone the other path. They have taught their faith. They have added to the strength of their patriotic teaching the religious instruction which, entirely aside from its individual moral value, is an element inseparably bound with love of country, and devotion to national ideals. These ideals are not only to be realized through their religious teachings, but even the textbooks in the parochial schools are to be Americanized. Archbishop Mundelein of Chicago has announced that, henceforth, all foreign language textbooks will be dropped, and that foreign children will be taught solely from English language books.

America has shown signs of awakening to this dereliction of the religious duty in the public schools. The suggestion has been put forth that the taxpayers, instead of demanding no Bible in

the schools, can well demand of Boards of Education that school-rooms be regularly and severally at the disposal of approved teachers, from the various sects, and that children, at periods as regular as those assigned to their other studies, be required to attend that kind of religious instruction which their parents believe they should receive.

Whatever difficulties the whole subject presents, whatever prejudices must be catered to, accommodated, or set aside, the sum of the obligation cannot be evaded. The sublimity of the American ideal, its duty to humanity, is inseparable from reverence for and the worship of God. We know that in organizing ourselves for greater material strength, for preparing our nation to become a unity of many peoples in one, this thing cannot be gainsaid, bought off, or dallied with. The churches of the many denominations cannot reach by their weekly sessions of Sunday school anything like the mass and horde of neglected children. They must be permitted to enter the schools and the schools must give the children to them as parents desire, to the end that the morale and the fidelity of generations to come may in some degree be assured.

If this, or something equivalent to it, is not done, it will be the shame of all sects but one — the largest single sect, distinguished for its unflagging zeal and its unconquerable devotion.

In the organizing of ourselves for peace, for greater strength in reserve, thousands of conscientious Americans are aware to-day that in some manner this problem must be met. No topic more suitable for the debate of those who undertake Americanization work can be suggested. To organize for peace means, however, in a very emphatic manner to prepare for war. And it is not at all unlikely that, if we could canvass public opinion, we should find next to the ardent belief that a unity of feeling and purpose must exist among us, — which means Americanization, — there is recognized a necessity that a definite naval and military policy must be adopted. The pity of it is that each successive administration can and does influence the government of our navy. Setting aside the absurd question as to whether we ought or not to have the second navy of the world (a question which a noisy minority proclaim), no one can feel anything but chagrin at the lack of definite,

continued, and continuous progress which the country has suffered by letting the matter of national defense "muddle along" from administration to administration, once in four years, subject to the whim and the decision of political machination. We know of nothing more pointed in the comments of the Press upon this phase of national inconvenience than that which was editorially in the *New York Times* of April 10, 1916. We quote from it in part:

"Any business concern would go into bankruptcy in six months if it were subjected to a system of management like that which prevails at the Navy Department. As an illustration and a parallel, suppose a doctor, a lawyer, or a newspaper editor with no experience in railroad affairs were selected to be president of a great railroad company every four years — or probably oftener — by another man equally lacking in any conception of railroading methods. And suppose, further, that the president so selected, with no knowledge of the great organization placed under his charge, proved to be a man with fads and personal hobbies so strong that he would listen to no advice from

his subordinates who may have served from boyhood and risen through every grade in the railroad business; and, still further, suppose that this new president, totally ignorant of every detail of his new business, was completely unhampered and uncontrolled; that he had despotic power not only to upset every regulation, to destroy every tradition, and to remove from office every man, however experienced, and replace him with a personal favorite or with somebody who would bend meekly and subserviently to the master's will. Is it not easy to imagine the result?

“A review of the testimony recently given before the Naval Committee, and the most casual consideration of the principles that should govern in the administration of the great navy of a great nation, will demonstrate that such a navy can never be efficient nor ready for war with a department organized and administered as our Navy Department is to-day. It is imperative that we should have a Council of National Defense and a Naval General Staff to decide upon a national policy and to secure continuity of military methods at the Navy Department from year to year, instead of the periodical upheavals and

turmoil with which the navy is now afflicted. The consideration of perpetual peace and the unscrupulous demands of politics must give way to the intelligent preparation for efficiency in war and to the dignified recognition of the navy as a military force. We 'must make a complete breach with the past' in the organization and management of the Navy Department."

Americans have been prone to fear permanent organization of anything. We have labored under the idea that because the public mind must change once in four years as to who shall be Chief Executive and what his party "plank" must be, it must also be salutary to allow for periodic changes in all national policies. No abiding belief has as yet overtaken the country such as the age-old conviction on the part of the Briton that "Britannia rules the waves." We have glozed over the stern aspect of national preparedness with the pale cast of thought, and have left the administration of army and navy affairs as each administration saw fit, while Congress has been allowed a continually interfering hand. We are coming to our senses, be it said, and there is much evidence

which points to a general belief that some ruling board of experts must be allowed permanent and plenary powers as a commission to direct the welfare of our army and navy.

Nothing is denied the nation that the nation wants, however much the legislators may balk and apologize, and delay, and sidetrack the issues which their constituents put before them. However slowly, the people of the United States may come to demand a navy of unrivaled efficiency, and however much the politicians dally with the issue, that kind of a navy, permanently and expertly managed by naval experts, and not by politicians, we shall have.

It was President Roosevelt who called the first commission to consider the reorganization of the Navy Department with a view to creating within it a General Staff, a ruling body, as it were, which should be "the sole and final adviser" to the Secretary. Writing of this commission and upon the need of it if the Navy is ever to be kept out of the meddling hands of doctrinaires and ignorant tamperers in Congress, the *New York Times* of March 30, 1916, commented as follows:

"During the past twenty years the

imperative need of a proper organization of the Navy Department by the creation of a General Staff to direct the departmental routine and secure proper attention to the efficiency of our fleet has been urged by the best minds in the navy. Admiral Mahan, the greatest authority on such subjects; Admiral Luce, the founder of the Naval War College at Newport; Admiral Taylor, a former President of the College, and other officers of distinction have repeatedly called attention to the need of a staff organization. Near the end of President Roosevelt's Administration, and while Mr. Newberry was Secretary of the Navy, a commission was appointed to outline a new organization of the Navy Department. Two former Secretaries of the Navy, Moody and Morton; Judge Dayton, once a member of the Naval Committee of the House, and Admirals Mahan, Luce, Evans, Folger, and Cowles formed the commission. The subject was carefully considered by these men, all of whom were peculiarly fitted for the task, and a report was submitted to President Roosevelt one month before the end of his term.

“Admiral Mahan, by reason of his eminence as an authority, was asked to draw up the statement of principles upon which an organization of the Navy Department should be based. His treatment of the subject was at once scholarly in its grasp and invincible in its logic. He expressed in a few words the cardinal principle that the organization of the Navy Department should be such that it could ‘in any emergency instantly pass from a state of peace to a state of war without a jar in its machinery.’ With this principle in mind, and with the outlined organization of all foreign navies at hand, a plan was sketched that fitted the peculiar conditions of our own departmental machinery, while adopting some of the best features of the British Admiralty and other foreign systems. Briefly, this plan provided for the co-ordination of bureaus of the Navy Department under chiefs of divisions of operations, matériel, personnel, and inspections, who, with the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, should act as a council to advise the Secretary concerning the administration of the navy. In addition to the four chiefs of divisions,

Admiral Mahan strongly recommended an additional aid, an Admiral who, while presiding over the Council of Naval Officers, should be quite unembarrassed by details of office administration and should act as the sole and final adviser of the Secretary — the one man to whom he could look and whom he could depend upon in an emergency.

“During the Administration of Mr. Taft this suggested scheme of the Mahan Commission was considered by Secretary Meyer, and by him referred for comment and additional recommendation to a very competent Board of Officers presided over by Rear Admiral Swift. This board in a report practically adopted the whole plan of the Mahan Commission and this organization was put in operation by Secretary Meyer with the omission of the fifth, or presiding, aid, the omission, no doubt, being caused by the criticism in Congress that too many naval officers were employed in the Navy Department!

“In this organization there were found the germs of the best plan that was ever put in force for the effective control of the navy of the United States as a military service. Congress, owing to its

opposition to anything like a General Staff, refused to give it the sanction and support of law, and Secretary Meyer merely kept it in force by regulations at the Navy Department. The present Administration retained this organization for a time, but discouraged it and gradually wrecked it by abolishing first one aid, then another. An aid for education was appointed and later abolished, and with the resignation of Admiral Fiske the whole organization, which rested upon a principle enunciated by Mahan, disappeared and turmoil replaced it. The hurried and half-considered action of Congress in appointing a Chief of Operations only restores one of the features of a plan that worked a great advance in naval administration.

“Recent happenings emphasize the vital necessity for the creation of a permanent and efficient General Staff for the navy as planned by Admiral Mahan — an organization which will free the Navy Department from the constant upheavals promoted by politics and individuals, and enable the navy “to pass from a state of peace to a state of war without a jar in its machinery.’ The people of the United States are ready to sanction such an or-

ganization because they will understand that it means economy as well as efficiency in the defense of the country."

In the same issue of the *Times* we see the following editorial relative to experimenting with an emergency. Nothing can better show our childish and unthinkable position.

"Another indication of 'unpreparedness,' and one that might be something between discouraging and alarming if Americans were not constitutionally incapable, almost, of either of those feelings in regard to themselves, was contained in one of yesterday's dispatches. It was from Washington and quoted Secretary Baker as saying that before his department availed itself of the permission just given by Congress to buy twenty-four new aëroplanes it would purchase eight of different kinds and experiment with them to find out which type was best.

"That announcement ought to be read in Congress, and certainly will be read out of it, with what, in familiar and therefore convenient phrase, may be called 'varied emotions.' Such a testing of types as is thus forecast is an operation that takes time, especially when it

is done by Government officials, with their deep sense of responsibility and their well-known reluctance to be hurried into approval of anything new and strange. One might have expected, too, that work so obviously essential to providing the army with aëroplanes as good as the market affords would have been done, if not before, at least as soon as, the first hint of possible trouble for the country was visible and audible to eyes and ears ordinarily acute.

“That it has been left till now is not the fault, of course, of Secretary Baker, but — well, for a really vigorous expression of opinion about delaying till this late and anxious day the making of these experiments one could confidently go to the officers and men who are campaigning in the Mexican mountains and hunting therein for an elusive enemy without the assistance they could get from aviators adequately equipped with the latest products of aërial science.

“But the responsibility for this situation, at once so humiliating and so irritating, should probably be placed on our national temperament and inveterate habit rather than on any particular Administration or individuals. Not only

do we scorn to cross bridges before we come to them; we do not even see the use in assuring ourselves that there are bridges to cross when occasion arises, and as long as possible we ignore the existence of rivers to be bridged."

Whatever the merits of the theories put forth by pacifists who would have the country take care of itself as the necessity arises, or who declare that to prepare against war is to earn war, the fact remains that the conscientious American throughout the country, the man who feels the obligation to his land and the wisdom of safeguarding the heritage his fathers left him has been very successful in making himself heard on military preparation. The Plattsburg camp of last year and the organization of more camps like it are eloquent of what the capable, brainy American of the true type thinks. But more than these, almost sporadic and local efforts are needed if the organization for peace is to be convincing from its military aspect. The National Guard can well be administered to render it a system more accessible to the man in the everyday walk of life, and military training of the volunteer is the object towards which

we must bend all energy and invention possible. That there are already a dozen schemes before the public for the establishment of a Continental Army, for finding some means of getting more officers, more men, and for establishing military camps on the Swiss plan, we are aware. Nor is it the purpose of this book to decide between them. Whatever we have, it must be democratic. No compulsory training law based upon a plan that is to infringe upon the individual's life to the extent that military nations have imposed it, would be acceptable to the American. Whatever we have, it must be democratic. Colonel Roosevelt said in one of the most effective of his addresses, reprinted in the *New York Times* of January 31, 1916:

"We need universal training for military service so that this country may be prepared to defend itself in time of war. I no more believe in permitting a man to volunteer to stay at home or refuse to enlist in time of war than I believe in permitting him to volunteer not to pay his taxes in time of peace. One duty should be made as obligatory as the other; and no man should be

allowed to shirk either. But the great benefit that would come from universal obligatory training would be in time of peace. Our young men would be trained to a sense of solidarity, of social cohesion, of self-respect, of power to command and readiness to obey, of orderly sense of duty, which would be invaluable in the industrial and social life of this nation.

“The professional pacifist who clamors for a peace which will consecrate successful wrong is an ignoble creature unfit for citizenship in this republic. The materialist who for the sake of selling cotton or copper or beef wishes this country to take action that would hinder Belgium being restored to its own people is false to every principle of the great men of this republic’s past. I ask that we stand for property rights, but that we put human rights ahead of property rights, and, finally, that we show that we have it in us to dare to risk something and to suffer some discomfort and some loss, and, if necessary, some danger, on behalf of a lofty ideal. It is by no means necessary that a great nation should always stand on the heroic level. But no nation can be called really great

unless it can sometimes rise to a heroic mood."

In the America that is organized for peace, however, there will prevail, as an outcome of high-powered Americanism, no tolerance for the divided allegiance between this country and some foreign power on the part of the hyphenate. We will have in the reorganized America, Federal laws which will relieve such a situation as the bomb-throwing and bridge-blowing Teutons have created in certain localities this past year. It will be demanded by the true Americans that no separate laws, but a national law, be the means of swift deportation of such undesirables as have made themselves offensive. Nor will this and other evidences of a sterner quality in our patriotism come about by any means other than the sane will of the calm and dispassionate decision of the American people.

There is no national question of to-day but Americanism; the tariff, the trusts, the shipping bill, — these are questions now, as they really have been always, of detail of administration. The great issue is the solidarity of America; its conscious organization of strength for complete internal peace, based on the

reverence of its history, the fear of God, and the determination to stand united and honorable before the whole world. Only when this is true can we claim to be a peace-loving nation.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW AMERICA

IN the effort to educate the foreigner the American will perforce educate himself. To create Americans out of the varied nationalities which must be assimilated into the American life as a genuine part of it, the new American can give as much as he receives; for the interpretation of the new America will be only the true interpretation so far as every individual, of whatever race, reflects some phase, some angle of the great motive dominating the picture. To clear this statement of its figures, let us say that the ideal towards which Americanism must press is that in which the epic consciousness of each nationality shall contribute to and find expression in the American epic consciousness. The poem of the Swiss, the Bulgar, the Armenian, the poem of the Russian Jew, the Scandinavian; each of these epic inheritances

must contribute to the sentiment, the historical justification of our country. The new America will justify its title as the oldest nation in the world when Americans are united in the realization of that fact.

How shall we kindle the flame of such a patriotism? To rectify the past, so far as by neglect of the alien and inattention to citizenship are concerned, to enter actively into the "English First" campaign, and to enlist every church, society, club, and official in these matters would, if such could be brought about, scarcely suffice to set the real fires of patriotic consciousness aflame. There is needed another study, another and even higher education which must sweep the country as both a reform and a revival. To indicate how this movement concerns itself with the character, not with the material externals of American life, let us say that a renaissance of America in the spirit of its founders will require an overhauling of the American character as it is, a change in methods of the public instruction, the awakening of the æsthetic-patriotic sense to a degree unknown before, and the broadcast preaching, in season and out of season, that citizenship

in America is a sacrament, a communion in the highest sense of spiritual liberty, love, and fraternity.

We must hitch our wagon to the stars and aim at the farthest emotional height of the subject if our end attained is to be anything like the unity of heart and soul which in the world's history has hitherto been granted to nations by only one agent — war.

Before, however, we can lay open to the judgment of ardent Americans the suggested propaganda to which this chapter is devoted, let us pause to find the truth about the American as he is.

To say that the American character is to-day what industrialism and materialism have made it is to go a long way toward the truth; but it omits as a statement something which lies deeper than the surface. The character of a people so universally sent to school, to college, to technical and professional training is a good deal the product, too, of its education. And American education, from the nursery to the last diploma, has in a great measure retrograded rather than progressed. In the terrible name of efficiency, the thing for which Germany lost her soul, and absolutely to cater to

the crass demands of the business world, our higher schools have lowered their standards in those studies which make college education what it should be, "a state of mind." And the diplomas of the oldest and even the most conservative institutions stand for a minimum of learning with a maximum of "preparation for the business of the world." There must go against these colleges, too, the credit of having built up and harbored technical schools within their sacred shades, so that where the classics, the living word of the immortal past, alone should dwell, and youth should receive only the idealistic training of the mind, that and that alone, he is given a boiler-shop or an engineering course, offered, and meant, for his simple material advantage; — a thing which no college has any business to serve unless it is purely and simply that kind of a school.

This compromise has been going on to the great detriment of the professions, but most of all to the detriment of American culture in the aggregate. And American culture is a thing inextricably bound with the life of the whole people, alien and native. American culture, were it the living thing it might be according

to its birthright, or that it promised to be fifty years ago, would have saved us many a problem, including most of the perplexities set forth in this book. And we cannot spare the American universities for their derelictions, their time servings, their knuckling to wealthy donors, their betrayal of the trust reposed in them by such as John Harvard, Eli Yale, Jonathan Edwards, Moses Brown, Lord Dartmouth, Thomas Jefferson, and other worthies, together with the hundreds of divines and learned men who, even up to and including certain royal personages and their colonial vice-regents, intended these colleges primarily to train a ministry, but in general to assure the perpetuity of immortal studies in America, with all that such assurance conveys in its fulfillment. To say that institutions must grow with their times is to offer no excuse. The spirit of a university and the spirit of technical training are two different things. The vulgarity, the indifference, the ignorance of art and letters which open America to bitter criticism, which put shallow men in high places, can easily be traced to the very source where any responsibility for it spells bitter shame. For that very source

is the college that turns out the technically proficient instead of the spiritually ardent. It is this which has made the college man the college boy, and the reverent scholar, who might give promise of great leadership in the nation, a mere brisk, business-getting, glib-tongued clerk. The compromise in these quarters cost this nation high, says a distinguished Frenchman :

“Americans are a people terribly practical, systematically hostile to all idealism. The ambition of the American’s heart, the passion of his life, is money ; and it is rather a delight in the conquest and possession of money than in the use of it. The Americans ignore the arts ; they despise disinterested beauty.”

Such may be surface criticism, but it comes dangerously near the truth.

Had the men who founded these universities desired them to be abreast of the times, or were it thinkable that it is the concern of a university to teach the practical wage-getting things, the oldest of these colleges would have been practical schools in rail-splitting, Indian-fighting, and corn-planting. But instead they were to offset these very things ; to insure the spiritual health of

the nation through those studies which Cicero declared to "nourish youth, rejoice old age, ornament success, and in misfortune provide a solace and a refuge." It is the proper business of a university to be no less than one hundred years behind the times, to offer no practical inducements to any one, and to seek alone the cultivation, the nourishment, the expansion of the mind. It is because American Colleges have compromised with this perfectly well known truth, that American thought has drifted, American culture has depended upon Europe for its pabulum (even since Emerson and a few others were gathered to their fathers), and American pride has so suffered for the lack of native stimulus, that patriotism has fallen to its lowest level.

In a time of stress such as the months following the sinking of the *Lusitania*, a nation whose pride is in skyscrapers, railroads, bumper crops, copper mines, and is willing and accustomed to subvert everything to material gain, cannot expect itself to act upon the theory which underlies such a monstrous act. Theory, principle, abstract thought, the sense of duty to God and humanity — such things

are not material for the present-day American brain to grasp. The mental fiber has been trained, whether in the market place or the university, to meet all perplexities with one question, "What's in it for me?"

It is therefore not in the least astounding to find a considerable class of the more muddle-headed, who would answer the national disgrace brought about by dallying with the *Lusitania* issue by the advice. "Let Americans keep off the seas." It is not in the least surprising to hear of protests against any positive action from certain callow pacifists in the colleges. They are but the product, as much of America is the product, of the great American school of compromise. They have neither the brains nor the dander of their progenitors who were summed up in Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Garrison, Lee, Benton.

Let us make no quarrel with the technical schools, nor with the vast national energies that they have put in motion, by rendering the continent slave and handmaid of science. Nor let us for a moment decry that widespread ambition to get on in the world which endows the American with shrewdness,

alertness, and strict obedience to the alarm clock. Let us concede the distinction that lies in speed, size, show, invention, adaptability, and ready cash; but let us admit that we have not kept these things in their place; that we have been prone to worship them, to place them above family honor, national honor, above church, creed, art, letters, music. And in this worship, such is the blindness of the devotee to self-interest, we have come down to one cowardly desire, the desire for ease and safety. "Safety First" has become our motto, not only in front of our own machines, but in the face of nations. That is why we rage about neutrality. We would rather be safe than honorable. It is thus that the mental temper of the individual translates itself into the quality of the nation.

Second only to the compromise of our educational institutions which have gone over to materialism, and the political chicanery which we have tolerated in every quarter, that which has stultified the national will and lowered our fiber has been the going over of so many churches to a free-thinking, flaccid system of religion, which is neither one thing or another. At best such churches

are but humanitarian cults, incapable of consoling, rescuing, or strengthening the soul. They have had a great share in undoing the armor of American manhood, and their dwindling congregations, their manifest struggle to keep afloat, is a fitting reward for their betrayal of those Christian doctrines which civilized Europe and put the fiber into American beginnings. It is noticeable that Americanism where it exists in its true sense to-day is concomitant with groups that represent one or the other of the churches that have held to the faith of their fathers. Those that have thrown discipline to the winds, and have offered material charities instead of teaching and exacting sacrifice of the will, have only done a little ephemeral good, and a great immortal harm; for they have added the weight of their testimony to the great American blunder, — that the material answers the spiritual. From their doors march out the shallow persons who think that organized charities, bread lines, free beds, and dentistry for school children are to offset the necessity of believing in any spiritual or goodly thing. They are the large class who contribute to the American compromise

by substituting humanitarianism for faith, and would evade the necessity of the sacrifice of personal will (which we take to be the essence of Christianity) by a cash account with charity. We call these things the American compromise; they might be termed the American unwillingness to think, — the sin of the superficial, the good-hearted blunder of the money-drunk.

But whatever we call all these stupidities, let us grant that we have not sunk in them to the extent which Germany bemired herself in her perfected materialism, her tyranny of the efficient, her Kaiser worship, and her adoption of the Moslem. Let us be honest, however, and grant the rest of it, to the effect that we stand to-day morally weaker than Great Britain or France.

And at this juncture occurs the union of our lowered culture, our stupidity, with the problem of our alien population. It is here, in front of these admissions, and before the puzzling question of the immigrant, that Americanization points to a path which native and alien must pursue together.

Wherever we discover the effort of the person who is assisting single handed,

or the effort put forth by groups to this end, we see the surer dawn of a new condition in which so much that is true and great in American life is coming to the surface.

Not one, but many an educator is alive to the bitter arraignment against the lost ideal of our universities. And at least one of the oldest of our colleges has returned to the spirit of its founders, and has decided boldly to face down materialism and exist henceforth as it should, purely and simply a college of the liberal sciences and the humanities. We refer to Amherst. In the great public school world there is a recognition that the purely vocational school must be given greater place by itself, if for no other reason than to have the general school freer to pursue an unhampered course of mental instruction. Logic is dawning on the situation by slow degrees. Out of the very problem of the unemployed has come the vocational class, which serves to create the line of differentiation between two lines of education. This alone will in time help the popular mind to clarify itself on the subject of schooling; it will return a greater respect than hitherto for the

school which trains the higher rather than the manual faculties. At least, it will not confuse the two.

Little by little the spiritual contribution of the alien is making itself felt. That is where the common ground between native and foreigner exists, and there alone can we find the basic principles which support the structure of spiritual and political unity, and a new, an American culture.

It is well to take note that among the hundreds who contribute to the foreign-language press in this country, and among the English-speaking foreigners, there has grown up a large school of eager, poetic writers whose output as a poetic interpretation of America, whether it be socialistic or merely lyric in its scope, makes in its total an interesting anthology of new and often very powerful poetry.

America has one leader in the poetical world in Miss Jessie B. Rittenhouse, the founder of the Poetry Society of America, who is specializing on this subject. Through her efforts there has grown up in our land an appreciation of our own poets and an encouragement of poetry, such as forecasts a golden age of American verse.

And our American verse will soon be greatly influenced by our foreign brothers, especially the Russians, the Italians, the Poles, for these are the most gifted in verse. Any survey of the current poetry (and there is more poetry being written to-day and it is of a better quality than American verse of the past thirty years) leads one to the instant observation that where so much verse is published (magazines and newspapers giving it more room than ever before) there must be a liking for it, a response to it in the American consciousness. We have always deplored the necessity, real or imagined, which made certain artists and writers adopt a foreign country, for the expatriation of genius — such as Whistler or James or Masefield — has seemed to carry a severe implication against the land that they left. Counting out the personal inclination in such cases, there must always remain the sting of shame that they were not without honor save in their own country. We can imagine, however, that, as the great artistic wealth of the Slav and Latin peoples here begins to reveal itself, that, as our music and our painting and our letters become more and more imbued with their influence,

and the native genius is both stimulated and challenged by it, a new era will come when his native heath will be the last place the American genius will want to forsake.

Who can fail to see that in our art schools, our music schools, our architectural ateliers, the great number of efforts for civic beauty, even the drawing classes of our grammar schools, there is to-day a visible proof that the peculiar and precious genius of different races is being somehow welded into the American field of æsthetic expression?

Our public buildings, cathedrals, churches, art buildings, libraries, and lastly the marvelously planned public parks, recreation and playgrounds — all of these bespeak our efforts and success that cause our triumph for the beautiful. No one can deny that, however inexperienced Americans are, they are ever reaching out for the beautiful. They seek art; they love it. They are trying to grasp it in all forms; yet they are a little too hasty. As a nation we have had to do things quickly, and this very spirit of haste has added untold blessings to humanity in the form of new inventions and discoveries.

Our "intellectual declaration of independence," made by Emerson more than seventy years ago, may be nearing its fulfillment. "Perhaps the time is already come . . . when the sluggish intellect of this continent will look from under its iron lids and fulfill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of a mechanical skill." To-day this prophecy is being fulfilled in the new America.

Who can fail to notice that German-American, French-American, Italian-American people are more and more making up the list of our Grand Opera singers, which includes to-day more native American names as well, than ever in the history of opera in this country? Those who have followed the history of symphonic music in America are aware that our half dozen of great orchestras comprise in their personnel to-day more men of American than of foreign birth, that the army of interpretative musicians who used to be thought of as purely an imported luxury is to-day a body largely recruited from our own musical ranks. We cannot enter into what this means as a proof that music has been a nurtured not a grafted thing in American life;

but it implies much for the steady future growth of America in the most important of all the arts.

That which is needed most of all for the welding together of the æsthetic-spiritual interests, which are the common interests of all races, and hence the one line of pursuit for native and alien minds, is some educational system in the teaching of history which will do away with the accumulated, confusing mass of mere annual events from ancient to recent times, and will cut through all ages, as it were, in cross sections to trace, discover, and declare the evolution of America.

Could it be taught in our schools how Truth, Beauty, Faith, Liberty, were sought for and achieved; how men of all races and times have gained and lost, and gained again these things. If the parallels of ancient to modern perplexities, struggles, and successes were thrust home to the exclusion of all extraneous detail, and the narrative of humanity were made the narrative of spiritual values leading up to America, and the history of America itself were taught with due regard to the mistakes,

the political sins, as well as the material achievements, — if history were rewritten and taught with this purpose, the child and the youth, of whatever race, would come to realize that America began not alone with Plymouth Rock, but equally as well with Winkelried in the Swiss pass, or the flight of Israel out of Egypt. The national heroes and heroines, saints and conquerors, from Alexander to St. Catherine of Siena, and George Washington to Florence Nightingale — the contributors to all things useful, victorious, self-sacrificing, and prophetic — would be studied not because they came at a certain period, but because they stand in this or the other category of the human records lying back of an America as old as the ages.

We are aware that in the above suggestion there is the germ of a revolution in pedagogic circles. We know also that new texts, embodying the best of the old ones, will have to be prepared. As well we are certain, however, that in considering such a change the opinion of several well-known educators is on the side of approval.

By nourishing the spiritual consciousness of the American in this patriotic

method, the way lies open to training the political consciousness of the young man and the young woman in such a manner that civics as a study would be no fruitless instruction. The day of the political machine would pass; for a generation of voters — men and women — would be in possession of the field, armed with Americanism. Americanism would be no mere word, — it would be a power such as no body politic has ever known, if half the energy in it were exerted. The question of hyphenated loyalty would not exist were the truth which America embodies taught, instilled, preached, required to be known, and left to do its own perfect work. That the new America will come out of a conscious, directed campaign, that every resource of all public and private institutions will be taxed in time, effort, and money, and that hundreds of Americans will volunteer in its service is a certainty.

Furthermore, with its beginnings will cease the cry that immigration must be rendered more difficult, that the gates must be closed against aliens. It will dawn on us very soon that as an asset alone the immigrant is becoming more

and more needed. Already Canada and South America are attracting the foreigner to an extent appreciable in our economy. Already, too, Europe has become less and less disagreeable to its sons and daughters; the years are not far distant when we may indeed be singing another song about the alien and wondering why he disdains us.

And shall the new America attain the national conscience which she needs to fulfill this destiny? Yes, when the hearts of all her peoples beat with an indescribable, sublimely wonderful thrill at the very mention of her name — this will mean "patriotism." That great day is near at hand, if each man and woman will do a part. Let every loyal American aid in hastening the day when America is able successfully to solve her own problems. Then shall our great nation stand forth as one which loves its fellow men and be the leader in equality, enlightenment, humanity.

The new America will be permeated with a patriotism so strong and loyal as to destroy all racial and religious prejudices. Here will be welcome every form of religion and sect, every color and every race will be at home, and "do unto others

as you would have them do unto you” will be the motto of all. In the sky of liberty a new constellation will appear, and its name will be America — many peoples, but one nation!

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